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THE

AFRIKANDER BOND

AND

OTHER CAUSES OF THE WAR

BY

THEOPHILUS LYNDALL SCHREINER

South African Vigilance Delegate

Issued by the

IMPERIAL SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION

66 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

(THIRTIETH THOUSAND)

LONDON

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO. LTD.

1901

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE readers of the following pamphlet have a right to know who the writer is, and what claim he has to express an opinion on the War.

I must, therefore, perforce write a few lines about myself. I am a South African, born in Colesberg, Cape Colony, in 1844; the son of a missionary of the London Missionary Society, who was, however, a Wirtemburger by birth. My mother is an English lady, the daughter of a Congregational minister (Samuel Lyndall), who lived in London, and is buried in Bunhill Fields Cemetery. My parents came out to South Africa in 1836, and about the time of my birth were settled in what is now the Orange River Colony.

There were at that time no settled ministers among the Dutch people in those parts, and the farmers, though generally speaking opposed to missionaries and their work, were only too glad to avail themselves of the services of such missionaries as felt friendly towards them. My father was one of these, and from my childhood I was accustomed to meet with the Boers, and thus to become acquainted with their character and ideas.

My father, though a German by birth, was an enthusiastic Britisher, and from him and my mother I learnt from my earliest years to love England as the home of justice, equity, and true liberty, a love that years has only deepened; while I have, at the same time, all the love for South Africa which a man should have for his native land and people. No Transvaal Boer who has shouldered his Mauser to fight against England loves the land more than I do.

It is our land—"Ons Land"—the land of the loyal South Africans just as truly as it is the land of the Boers, and we love

it above any other. We love its mountains and hills, its karoo plains and koppies, its air, its sunshine, its plants, its animals; and we love its people—the English, the Dutch, and the coloured and black, who are all an integral part of it.

Let no one imagine, then, that I write from the point of view of a foreigner. The Dutch people of South Africa are near and dear to me. I understand them as in a sense one with them. I have absolutely no racial prejudice against them. I know their noble qualities. I know their weaknesses too, but love makes me unwilling to magnify these, and the rather to believe that they will disappear in the South African nation that is to be welded out of English and Dutch conjointly.

I love the South African "taal"—the Dutch patois—and should grieve to see it altogether die out, though it is best that English should increasingly and naturally take its place.

I love the Dutch Reformed Church. My religious instincts incline me to its simple form of worship, and I feel more at home in a Dutch Presbyterian church than anywhere else. The slow, solemn, sonorous pouring forth of praise in psalm or hymn by the congregation is better to me than the most finished musical performance, and the deep religiousness of the people makes me more at home with them than almost anywhere else.

I am then no enemy but the friend of my Dutch fellow-citizens in South Africa, of the Dutch language, and of the Dutch Church.

But all the more keenly have I felt and do I denounce the terrible wrong which so many of my Dutch fellow-countrymen and women and of the ministers of their Church have committed, in having yielded to the political dream of overthrowing the supremacy of England in South Africa, and substituting in its stead a Dutch domination.

It makes but little difference in the responsibility resting on them in this matter that some have not wilfully intended to bring this about at the cost of war with England, but have hoped to achieve the end by constitutional means; for they have raised and fostered a spirit throughout the land that was inevitably bound to culminate in war with England.

In the following pages I give the evidence for this, and place the responsibility for the past and present condition of affairs in South Africa on the right shoulders, in the sincere hope tha my so doing may help the Dutch people of the Cape Colony and their ministers to see the great mistake they have made in the

past, and to avoid it in the future by becoming contented and loyal subjects of England and helping others to become so.

I am also influenced to publish these pages by the thought that it is of great importance that people in England should clearly appreciate the more or less hidden sources in which the war between the Dutch Republics and England had its rise.

I have for the last twenty-five years been an attentive and constant reader of the Dutch newspaper press of South Africa, have paid particular attention to the development of the Afrikander ideals, and taken the deepest interest in matters political affecting South Africa.

I am no capitalist nor a representative of any capitalist. I was a claimholder at Kimberley, but sold out before the formation of diamond mining companies, and hold no mining shares of any sort.

For the last twenty years I have devoted myself to the preaching of the Gospel and the setting forward of the Total Abstinence Cause in South Africa at my own expense.

In the prosecution of this work I have visited the majority of the towns and districts of the various States of South Africa, and have been privileged to become widely and intimately acquainted with the people of all races and nationalities inhabiting the country, and with their opinions and conditions.

The account given in the following pages of the history and influence of the Afrikander Bond, and the views expressed with regard to that history and influence, are not matters of afterthought, but represent things as they appeared to me step by step, as and when they occurred.

Providentially allowed to become acquainted with the real purpose of the Bond eighteen years ago, I have never had reason to believe that it or the Afrikander National party have really changed their programme in any degree or intend so to change it.

I have no apologies or repudiations to make for or of past beliefs, or words, or actions of mine in matters political, and I am at least able to say truthfully that I was never for a moment deceived into believing the Bond to be other than it has proved itself to be—a disloyal organisation bent upon wresting South Africa from England.

THEOPHILUS LYNDALL SCHREINER.

Maes Mawr, Whyteleafe, Surrey:
December 20, 1900.

II.

SOME CAUSES OF THE WAR.

A TREE has more roots than the one great tap root, a river, generally speaking, more than one tributary; so the war declared by the two Dutch Republics against England in October of last year has sprung from more than one source.

I.

DIFFERENT POLITICAL IDEALS.

Perhaps the chief cause is the absolute difference of political ideals which has always broadly separated the Briton and the Boer. The Briton believes in liberty, justice, freedom all round. The Boer believes in these blessings for himself alone.

The Briton believes tenaciously that political rights belong inherently to those inhabitants who pay the cost of government, and that it is contrary to the principles of right and justice that these rights should be withheld from such.

The Boer does not believe in political rights at all, only in political privileges belonging to a Dutch farming oligarchy who happened to have been the first white settlers in the country, and whose members have a great dislike to paying taxes. If this oligarchy chooses to extend these privileges to others, well; if not, no injustice or wrong is done, even though those others contribute the larger portion of the revenue.

AS TO THE NATIVE QUESTION,

the Briton, even if he be haughty, believes that the coloured man is a human being, and British law treats him as such. The Boer looks upon him, even if christianized, civilized, and educated, as a mere animal, and acts accordingly, often treating him kindly as one does a domestic animal, but as often treating him brutally without compunction, and ridiculing the very idea of his having a claim to the same civil, legal, political, and religious rights as the white man.

That this vital difference of view on native policy is a great cause of the opposition of the Dutch to the English flag is patent to every one who has lived and mingled with the Dutch in South Africa, and the book published since the war began by Mr. F. W. Reitz, the State Secretary of the Transvaal, entitled "A Century of Wrong," fully bears out the statement.

The quarrel of the Boer with England was once wittily and succinctly described thus :—

"The Boer has Three Great Grievances against England: firstly, the black man; secondly, the black man; and, thirdly and lastly, the black man."

In a manifesto recently drawn up and signed by Mrs. F. W. Reitz and some hundreds of Transvaal ladies calling on their menfolk to resist England to the bitter end, the chief reason given for opposition to England is that under its flag there are equal rights for coloured people.

II.

Another cause of the war is to be found in

England's Weak and Vacillating Policy

in times past with regard to all matters South African, which justified, in the days of the Little Englander politicians, the contempt which the Colonials felt for Downing Street, and their desire to be allowed to settle South African affairs without Imperial interference, while it strained the loyalty of loyal subjects of the Queen to well-nigh breaking point, and encouraged the Afrikander party to think that they had only to show a bold front and England would yield to their desires.

III.

The Retrocession of the Transvaal.

A third cause of the war is the action of England in giving back its independence to the Transvaal in 1881, after sustaining the comparatively insignificant defeat of Amajuba, and without carrying the war on until the Boers had been subdued; whereby the Dutch of South Africa were led to conclude that she was weak and timid, that her soldiers were cowardly and impotent, and that she would never dare again to fight the Boers. Those who are South Africans have seen this belief take root, spring up, and grow stronger and stronger year by year ever since 1881.

IV.

The Afrikander Daydream.

A fourth cause of the war has been the life daydream indulged in by such men as Mr. F. W. Reitz, Presidents Kruger and Steyn, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, and others, of the final disappearance from South Africa of the British power and flag, and of the establishment, either with or without war, of the Dutch United States of South Africa under their own flag. This dream seemed to receive justification in the retrocession of the Transvaal in 1881, and sprang into vigorous life when the

wealth of the Rand gold mines promised the material means whereby it might be turned into a reality; it has overshadowed the whole land with its baleful influence ever since, and the present war is its practical outcome.

V.

The Afrikander Bond.

Another cause of the war has been the influence exerted by the Afrikander Bond, which has been the active means whereby anti-British feelings and a Dutch Republican sentiment against England have been created, maintained, and increased. Its history, aims, and results are of such immense importance to the right understanding of the South African situation, that these are separately dealt with in the later pages of this pamphlet.

VI.

The anti-British Press.

Allied with the Afrikander Bond in the carrying out of an anti-British propaganda throughout South Africa must be named as one of the most active causes of the war the Dutch National Newspaper Press, of which such papers as the *Volkstem* in Pretoria, the *Rand Post* at Johannesburg, the *Express* at Bloemfontein, the *Patriot* in former years at the Paarl, the *Zuid Afrikaan* and *Ons Land* at Cape Town are examples; not to mention English supporters of the Afrikander Bond ideals, such as the *Standard and Diggers' News* at Johannesburg and the *S.A. News* at Cape Town.

These papers have been the medium for "distilling the poison" of the Bond (see Mr. Merriman's speech in 1885) through the length and breadth of the land, and by their misrepresentation of things and their arousing of racial antagonism they have worked up the simple contented farmer folk of the Cape Colony of thirty years back into passive and in some cases active rebellion against England.

In 1896 "Ons Land" wrote:

"Afrikanderdom has awakened to a sense of earnestness and consciousness which we have not observed since the heroic war for liberty in 1881. From the Limpopo as far as Cape Town the second Majuba has given birth to a new inspiration and a new movement amongst our people in South Africa. A new feeling has rushed in huge billows over South Africa. The flaccid and cowardly Imperialism that had already begun to dilute and weaken our national blood, gradually turned aside before the new current that permeated our people. . . . This is truly a critical moment in the existence of Afrikanderdom all

over South Africa. Now or never! Now or never the foundation of a wide embracing nationalism must be laid. The iron is red hot and the time for forging is at hand. . . . The partition wall has disappeared. Let us stand manfully by one another. The danger has not yet disappeared; on the contrary, never has the necessity for a policy of a Colonial and Republican union been greater; now the psychological moment has arrived; now our people have awakened all over South Africa; a new glow illuminates our hearts; let us now lay the foundation stone of a real United South Africa on the soil of a pure and all-comprehensive national sentiment."

What *Ons Land's* teaching is at the present time may be gathered from the contents of the following Central News cable, which was published in London on December 14, 1900: "*Ons Land* has a significant article to-day by Mr. Malan, the editor, who has been elected member for Malmesbury in place of Mr. Schreiner, the ex-Premier. Dealing with the reception accorded by Sir Alfred Milner to the deputation from the Bond Congress at Worcester, *Ons Land* says:—

"Sir Alfred Milner considers the request of the Afrikanders for peace and justice unreasonable. The agitation has now reached the end of the first period—that of pleading and petitioning. A deaf ear has been turned to the cry of the Afrikanders and their Church. But the battle for justice will continue from a different standpoint—by mental and material powers. The path will be hard, and sacrifices will be required, but the victory will be glorious!"

It must be remembered that "the request of the Afrikanders for peace and justice" is a euphemism for a threat of no peace but unceasing agitation against Great Britain's power, unless complete independence is restored to the Republics.

VII.

Afrikanderdom in the Schools and Colleges.

In accordance with the programme of the Afrikander Bond an anti-British Dutch Republican spirit has since 1881 been inculcated and fostered in many of the schools and colleges of the country to such an extent that, in the Cape Colony, Christian young men, subjects of the Queen, have been led to think it a right and noble thing to take up arms against her, and have done so without a word of disapproval from their instructors.

That attention should be paid to the study of the Dutch language is of course necessary in South Africa, but in the Transvaal Government-aided schools this was done to the almost entire exclusion of English, and in the Colony the furtherance of the study of the "taal" has always been associated with the spread of sentiments disloyal to England.

Straws show which way the current flows, and such straws

as the following show how far the disloyal spirit has permeated the schools of the Cape Colony.

The *Studenten Blad* is a students' magazine in connection with the Reformed Church Theological Seminary at Burghersdorp. In the number dated May 26, 1899, a student writes: "When I meet an Englishman as a private individual, I must regard him as my fellow-creature; if, however, I meet him as an Englishman, then I, as an Afrikander, must regard him as the enemy of my nation and my religion—as a wolf that is endeavouring to creep into the fold. . . . I think I can with truth add that race-hatred was encouraged amongst the children of Israel, if not indeed commanded. Afrikanders, let us take heed that we are not deceived; the English will be our oppressors, but never our friends."

In a description of the sports on the Queen's birthday the following occurs: "Most of our students were there. This was certainly not out of a sense of loyalty, but rather, I think, of curiosity. . . . The worst of the affair was that at the conclusion of the sports three cheers for the Queen were called for. Where were the students then? I turned and ran. My throat would not budge."

At Stellenbosch is another Theological College with a Students' Union, whose motto, "idem sentire de republica," capable of twofold interpretation, conveniently covers Dutch Republican anti-British aims. And the Special Commissioner of the *Daily Telegraph* reports that in the "Stellenbosch Students' Quarterly" for last September the following appeared: "The war, even if it should annihilate the independent existence of the two Republics, will raise upon the ruins of the conquered but not humiliated Republics an Afrikander nation from the Limpopo to Cape Agulhas, a nation imbued with a kindred spirit, dominated by a common aspiration, branded by their oppressors with a common stigma, and consolidated by being the objects of a common systematic persecution." It is common report that from colleges and schools in the Colony scholars have left in order to take up arms against England, and in some cases such persons have returned to the said schools and colleges after fighting for some time with the Republican forces, and have been received with tumultuous rejoicing as heroes.

Schoolmasters and mistresses have been known to tear off the English colours from their pupils, and forbid their being worn even on occasion of English successes in the war, while the Transvaal colours have been worn by scholars without reproof.

Only a short time ago in the advertisement for a master for the Boys' Public Government-aided School at George, issued by the Secretary, the Rev. Rossouw, one of the stipulations required the applicant to state whether he was of South African sympathies. Note that South African here means anti-British, pro-Transvaal, and pro-Bond.

VIII.

The Ministers of the Dutch Church.

Another cause of the war is to be traced to the successful efforts of the Afrikander Bond to gain the co-operation of the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, notably the younger ones, Dutch by birth, and trained in the Colonial Theological Seminaries.

While the loyalty of some of them is beyond question, and deserves grateful recognition, and while we acknowledge their generally pious and spiritual character, it is not too much to aver that they have as a rule fostered and strengthened the Dutch Republican sentiment, as opposed to the interests of England in South Africa.

They might have used their tremendous influence to discourage the dream of Dutch supremacy; they might have helped their people to realize that God had by the facts of history ordained England to be the chief power in the country; they might have taught their people that English and Dutch were of one common stock, and should love one another; they might by this time have almost welded the two nationalities into one South African people; but they seem to have yielded themselves, especially of late years, to the glamour of the idea of a Dutch Independent United States of South Africa in close connection with and controlled by the mighty Dutch Presbyterian Church, oblivious of the claims both of loyal Englishmen and of England itself; and the seed they have sown is producing a dread harvest now.

The Afrikander Dream an Article of Religion.

The idea referred to seems of late years, perhaps unconsciously in some cases, to have been elevated into an article of religion by many of the ministers and members of the Dutch Presbyterian Churches, whose teaching has tended to foster the belief that the Dutch people of South Africa are the people of God *par excellence*, like Israel of old, and that the English are by comparison the enemies of God, like the Amalekites, the Philistines, &c.; that the Dutch language is the language of God's people, while English is a poor and worldly tongue; that the Dutch Presbyterian Church is *the* Church of God, all other Churches, even the English and Scotch Presbyterian, occupying a much lower level; that the Dutch Republics being Dutch should be supported; and that even the corruption, and bribery, and oppressive and retrogressive legislation of the Transvaal Government, which cannot be denied, is excusable, because it is a Dutch Government, and those who suffer under it are only Uitlanders, Kaffirs, or such like.

Even Spiritual Men Blinded.

So widely, deeply, and firmly have these ideas taken root that even the spiritually-minded among the ministers and their flocks—and in such the Dutch Reformed Church is as richly endowed as any other—have not escaped the contagion of this unjust and puffed-up religion of Dutch Republican patriotism, and have helped to conduct it to its inevitable issue—a life-and-death struggle for the mastery with that great Empire, which in the order of God's Providence has wielded the supreme power in South Africa for the last hundred years.

They seem to have wilfully blinded themselves to the Christian character of that Empire, and to the freedom, justice, and liberty loving and giving character of its rule, and delight to picture it as a monster of injustice and wrong; and this though in the Cape Colony they have enjoyed all the blessings that a free upright Christian Government can bestow. Even the Rev. Dr. Andrew Murray, a most spiritually-minded man, has claimed that the independence granted to the Transvaal by England was a

Dutch Presbyterian Independence,

and that therefore it must remain for ever Dutch Presbyterian, and that England has no right to interfere with it by insisting that the Uitlanders should have votes.

The Dutch of South Africa

are as a people possessed of many fine and noble traits of character, and when refined and educated are in no wise inferior to refined and educated English. Nevertheless, without particularizing, we may say that there are weak spots in the Boer national character, as there are weak spots in the English; but, curiously enough, where the Dutch character is weak the English is strong, and *vice versâ*. Accordingly we might expect the happiest results to follow from

That Union of the Two Races

which ought to be the aim of every true South African, and which one cannot but believe must be the purpose of the Higher and Beneficent Power that placed the two white nationalities in South Africa in about equal proportions.

But the Dutch, instead of furthering this purpose, have hindered it by cultivating what may be called a racial religion of Pharisaic pride and contempt, a religion of antagonism to the flag under which they enjoy so many blessings, a religion of tyranny supported by rifles, a religion that winks at corruption and injustice; and they have thereby exposed themselves to the Nemesis that must inevitably overtake such national sins.

This Religion of Dutch Pseudo-Republicanism

has misled Presidents Kruger and Steyn into dragging themselves and the States over which they ruled to their doom. Their speeches are saturated with it. They assume all the promises of national blessing to Israel in the Bible to be theirs; but they seem to have utterly forgotten that the fulfilment of those promises was dependent on Israel's doing right, and that a large proportion of the Prophet's words consisted of messages of denunciation against Israel, and threats of destruction and overthrow to come upon it because it failed so to do, and especially because it was proud and lifted up, corrupt, and did not do justice between man and man, but received bribes, and oppressed the stranger, the weak, and the needy.

These have been the sins pre-eminently of the South African Republic, and analogy and common sense should have taught President Kruger, if he had not been blinded, that the judgments which were not only pronounced against, but which in due time fell upon Israel, would certainly overtake himself and his Government also, if they persisted in their unjust and evil ways.

These Judgments are now Falling.

But have any Dutch ministers warned him and their people as they should have done? Very few, if any. One brave Dutch minister, a Hollander, a Rev. Spoelstra, belonging to Paul Kruger's own Church, did preach against the sins of the Government of the S.A.R., and warn it of the consequences; and is said to have had to leave the country because of so doing.

The Dutch ministers were not the originators of the anti-British crusade in South Africa, whose origin may rather be ascribed to President Kruger and his Hollander advisers, and to the Afrikander Bond and its newspaper press, but they succumbed to its fascinations, and helped it forward instead of opposing it. Had they bravely influenced Dutch public opinion in South Africa in the direction of inducing the Government of the South African Republic to grant equal and just political rights to the Uitlanders the present war might never have taken place. All honour to those ministers who have acted in this direction. But many have blown the fires of race enmity by encouraging the anti-British aims of the Afrikander National party. Small wonder that thousands of Dutch have risen in rebellion against the Queen, when several of their ministers have acted in such a way as to have been arrested on charges of treason.*

* Only a few weeks ago the Rev. A. I. Steytler, the leading minister of Cape Town, is reported to have said at a meeting of the Presbytery that he was only loyal because he was obliged to be so; and thirty or forty Dutch ministers, at a meeting held in Stellenbosch a few weeks ago, are reported to

IX.

The Bond Parliamentary Party.

The Dutch National and Republican ideals of the Bond were not only disseminated constantly by the press, fostered and inculcated at the schools and colleges, supported and strengthened by the ministers of religion, but were held by a compact body of the members of the Parliament in the Cape Colony, who, by means of the astute leadership of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer, became a strong power there, and succeeded in tyrannizing over every Ministry one after the other, and even over her Majesty's High Commissioners.

This Afrikander Parliamentary party for long years has thus crushed under its iron heel the principles of true political freedom in the country, and acted as coadjutor in the Colony of the South African Republic and its schemes, and despite its resolutions in favour of peace it has virtually been a factor in bringing about the war, which however has not turned out exactly as it anticipated. Presidents Kruger and Steyn and their Governments have always looked on the Colonial Bond Parliamentary party as their allies against England, and not without reason, as the action of the party in the late Parliamentary Session abundantly proves (*see* pages 16, 38, 50).

X.

The Jameson Raid

was so far a contributory cause of the war in that it intensified feeling both on the Imperialist and Republican side, and brought over to the latter a mass of supporters, ministers of religion and others, who previously had been moderate men, content to accept things as they were, and with no strong bias either way.

It also strengthened the Dutch Republican position immensely, and tied the hands of England for a time (*see* page 33).

XI.

Pro-Boer M.P.'s and Public Writers.

Another contributory cause of the war has no doubt been the encouragement given to the Dutch Afrikander National party by many Members of Parliament and other public speakers and writers in Great Britain, who habitually act as the friends and defenders of every country but their own, and who have fostered among the Dutch the vain belief and hope that a large proportion of the English nation was with them in their anti-British purposes.

have solemnly declared that there will be no lasting peace in South Africa until the Boers have their independence restored to them.

XII.

THE CORRUPTION AND MISGOVERNMENT OF THE S.A. REPUBLIC.

Lastly, the immediate cause of the war was the corruption and misgovernment of the Transvaal Government, and the refusal of the Boer oligarchy there, who had received the rights of self-government from England, to extend the same rights to the foreign population that settled in the country, as they were bound to do by the spirit of the Conventions which established their independence.

CONCESSIONS AND BRIBES.

Corruption was evinced in the granting of and upholding of such concessions as the Dynamite Concession, the Liquor Concession, the concessions to the Netherlands Railway Company, and many others to the detriment of the general welfare; the acceptance of bribes by officials from the head of the Government downwards, with but few honourable exceptions; the huge expenditure of the Secret Service fund; the interference with the freedom of the Bench and the course of justice, &c. &c.

AS INSTANCES OF TYRANNICAL MISGOVERNMENT

take the "Public Meetings Prohibition Act" of 1894, by whose provisions people meeting together in public without express sanction of the Government were liable to heavy fines and imprisonment and other punishment; (2) the Press Law, by which the press of the country was placed absolutely at the mercy of the President; (3) the Law No. 5 of 1897, which practically took away from the Uitlanders the right to petition the Government; (4) the Aliens Expulsion Act, No. 25 of 1896, by which the President, with the advice of the Executive Council, and after having the opinion of the State Attorney, was empowered to expel anyone from the country whose conduct they considered dangerous to the public peace and order; (5) the Law No. 1 of 1897, by which the provisions of the Constitution were violated and the independence of the Judges was destroyed, they being made liable to be dismissed from their office at the dictation of the President; (6) the Franchise Laws, by which

STEP BY STEP SINCE 1881

the right of the Uitlanders to the franchise had been restricted, until at last in 1894 its provisions demanded in each case a previous fourteen years' probation, and a naturalisation for at least ten years, an age qualification of forty years, the assent obtained by vote of the First Volksraad, and also the written assent of the majority of burghers in the electoral ward; and when, under pressure from the British Government, the Raad

in 1899 professed its willingness to change the period from fourteen to seven years, it still hedged the seeming concession in with so many arbitrary and impossible conditions as to make it absolutely valueless—in fact THE WHOLE CONCESSION WAS A SHAM, and meant to be one, one object no doubt having been to gain time to complete preparations for war.

The injustice perpetrated by the Transvaal Government in the matter of the Franchise Laws is aggravated by the fact that many of the Uitlanders who were excluded from the right to the franchise were persons born in South Africa, and some were even of Dutch descent, and as truly South Africans as Paul Kruger himself.

In an open letter to President Steyn, levelled against the idea of "the closer union" between the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, Mr. Papenfus, a Johannesburg solicitor, the son of a former Attorney-General of the Free State, who had been ten years in the Transvaal, wrote: "I can safely assert that I have failed to discover during my residence here how this State can justify its claim to be called a Republic. . . . I hold it to be the just right of every law-abiding individual who has been resident for a reasonable number of years in any country which lays claim to be considered a civilised State, and who has vested interest in that country, and who will swear allegiance to the Government of that country, to claim and demand political enfranchisement. That is, in my humble opinion, the creed of true Republicanism, and this also is the basis of government and enfranchisement in the Orange Free State.

"But this (the Transvaal) is no Republic. Not only are thousands of law-abiding citizens at present without political privileges, but they are for ever debarred from obtaining them; and the barbarous spectacle is presented of a State claiming to be recognised and respected by the civilised world as a free people, and laying claim to a Republican form of Government, excluding children born of the soil from citizenship."

THIS REPRESSIVE AND RETROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION

of the Transvaal, growing worse year by year, was a disgrace to Christianity, civilisation, and the very name of Republicanism.

The South African Republic had the fairest chance given her by Providence that ever a Government had of becoming a wealthy, prosperous, beneficent Power, but she deliberately threw away all her possibilities in that direction, and rushed wilfully and headlong to her ruin, impelled thereto by the Dutch Republican ideal.

Backed up by the Orange Free State, and by the various influences already enumerated as contributing to the advancement of that ideal, she, rather than give political rights to the

new settlers, and thus make them contented and useful citizens, determined to

GO TO WAR WITH THE BRITISH EMPIRE,

unless indeed that Empire abdicated its position of supremacy in South Africa in her favour.

No doubt the Dutch National Republican party would have preferred to have gained the victory over England without bloodshed, but as that could not be owing to the firmness of Milner and Chamberlain, why then—war; and in the words of the manifesto of Mr. Reitz, "even as the mighty Spain with her bloodthirsty Alva and her invincible armies had to swallow the bitterness of defeat, so too will God give our enemies into our hands."

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE REBELLION.

As long as for some months (owing to England's unpreparedness) there seemed a likelihood of this prophecy being realised, the Dutch National Republican party in the Cape Colony secretly rejoiced and lay low, while British subjects and registered Parliamentary voters by the thousand became open rebels in the border districts of the Colony.

Now that the tide has turned, and the British forces hold the capitals of the two Republics, and the larger portion of their territory, and that both States have already been declared annexed to the British Empire, that same party is straining every nerve to prevent the Republics from reaping as they have sown, utterly forgetful of the deliberate purpose and preparation with which they rushed open-eyed, despite all warnings, into this struggle for the highest stakes a nation can play for; utterly forgetful, too, of the fact that the independence they possessed was the gift of Great Britain, and in the case of the South African Republic limited in accordance with the provisions of the Conventions by which its independence was guaranteed.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WAR.

This is no case of one strong nation wilfully overpowering another weaker nation and taking away its existence. It is a case of a strong nation being forced, by the misrule and misgovernment of a small State to which it granted a qualified and conditional independence, and by the grievous effects of that misrule throughout its own larger dominions, and by the wicked determination of this small State to fight, and if possible overthrow, the larger Power to which it owes its existence—being forced, I say, to take away that independence formerly granted, because it has been utterly and shamefully abused.

The Free State, who also received her independence from

Great Britain, needlessly and wilfully cast in her lot with her guilty neighbour, and must accept the consequences.

These States cannot be allowed to retain their independence, because bitter experience has proved that it has been a curse to South Africa, and the cause of unrest, disunion, race hatred, sedition, war, and rebellion.

England Morally Right.

Had there been the remotest idea when granting the conditional independence in years gone by that it could be so abused, it would never have been granted; and England has every moral right, now that the South African Republic with the help of the Orange Free State and colonial rebels and sympathizers has played its big game against her for tremendous stakes and lost, to decide that in the best interests of South Africa, as well as of those of the British Empire, the mistake of the past shall not be repeated again.

Only One Flag Possible.

It is not putting the case for the annexation of the two Republics and their incorporation within the British Empire too strongly to say that, after the experience of the past, every dictate of justice, common sense, and true statesmanship demands that there shall henceforth be but one flag in South Africa, under which the inhabitants of the various States may enjoy the blessings of religious, political, and civil freedom and justice, to be granted to all equally under a more or less uniform system and principles of government.

South Africa has had enough of two flags, two diametrically opposed systems of Government, two European nationalities always at loggerheads with one another, and, as at the present time, destroying one another on the battlefield.

We cannot have a fratricidal war every twenty years, even although the miscalled "conciliation" women and men threaten that we shall. No; henceforth there must be but one flag.

Which Flag is it to be?

Were the British subjects in South Africa an insignificant minority, one might argue in favour of the Vierkleur, but it is not so. The white inhabitants of the Cape Colony are already British subjects: Natalians are British, so are Rhodesians; while the large majority of white persons who inhabited the Transvaal prior to the war are British at heart. Even if we divide the white population of the whole of South Africa into Dutch and English, and suppose for the sake of argument, which is far from being the case, that the former would all vote for the Vierkleur, still the white population would be about equally

divided on the question; and if the civilized coloured people were taken into the reckoning, there would be a mighty preponderance for the Union Jack.

The Arbitrament of War.

But apart from this view of the question, as a practical fact, the Republics have solemnly appealed to the arbitrament of war on the matter, and the issue has been against them.

Had the fortune of war been otherwise, and had the Republics been successful in sweeping victoriously over the whole of the British possessions in South Africa, and in permanently ousting the British flag from the mainland, the Dutch Republican States of South Africa would have become a reality to which everyone would have had to submit.

Now that the fortune of war, invoked by the Orange Free State and the South African Republics, has decided that this shall not be, the only wise course for those whose dreams have been defeated is to accept the consequences of their own action, to bow to the inevitable, and to make the best of the position.

The Very Best Thing for the Future.

And considering that the same system of free political institutions which exists in the Cape Colony, under which the Dutch have managed to secure an extraordinarily large share of political power and influence, will certainly in due time be extended to the inhabitants of the late Republics, can any well-balanced mind fail to see that the passing of the Orange and Transvaal States under the British flag, and continuing under that flag, will be the very best thing that can happen *now* for all sections of the people in South Africa?

No Other Solution Possible.

Were these States thousands of miles distant, it might be argued, "They can do but little harm outside of their own boundaries; therefore leave them their independence;" but it is impossible for a great nation, with a consciousness of its duties to all peoples entrusted by Providence to its care, and with a determination to fulfil those duties, and after giving up thousands of precious lives of its best and noblest, and spending millions of money in defence of those duties, to allow the continuance, within the very midst of its sphere of rule, of the Power whose action and influence have produced the unrest and disorder of the past, and would most certainly produce it again if given the opportunity.

However great the natural longing of a magnanimous victor to say to the vanquished, "Take back your liberty and use it better than you did before," South African historical experience,

prudence, common-sense, and highest duty to all the peoples of South Africa, those of the whilom Republics included, calls on England to say,

NEVER AGAIN! NEVER AGAIN!

III.

THE AFRIKANDER BOND.

OF all the factors which have tended to produce the war between the Dutch Republics and Great Britain, the Afrikander Bond has been the most active and the most pernicious in its effects; for many of the other factors owe to its efforts or its influence their existence and energy for evil.

It will therefore be well for the student of the South African political problem to examine as closely as possible into the working of this institution, and to trace the ramifications, secret and open, of its influence upon the history of the country during the last eighteen years.

That this influence has been for evil no South African who is a lover of the British Empire will deny; but its evil aims have been so speciously and subtly cloaked under and connected with seemingly innocent and useful ones, that many people are mystified as to its real object.

TO THROW SOME LIGHT ON THE QUESTION,

without making any pretence of exhausting the subject, is the object of the present writer.

The roots of existence of the Bond lie in the far past, and may be traced to the antagonism between two well nigh irreconcilable political ideals—those of the Briton and the Boer (*see* page 5).

The idea of the Afrikander Bond was conceived at the Paarl, in Cape Colony, in the years 1879–80, amid the turmoil of feeling during the British occupation of the Transvaal, and was a direct

OFFSPRING OF ANTI-BRITISH FEELING

among some of the Dutch of the Cape Colony. The Rev. S. J. du Toit, of the Paarl, was its real founder, and to his writings we must look to ascertain the object for which it was started. The *Patriot* newspaper of the period, published by him at the Paarl, and for many years the chief official organ of the Bond, states them with no uncertain sound. Their anti-British and anti-English purport are clearly denoted in a pamphlet entitled

"De Transvaalse Oorlog," published in 1881 by D. F. du Toit & Co., of the Paarl, the contents of which consisted of articles reprinted from *De Patriot*, and which has lately been translated and published in English by the *Journal*, Grahamstown, South Africa, under the title,

"The Birth of the Bond."

The following extracts from this pamphlet will explain the motives and aims with which the Afrikander Bond was started better than any words of mine.

[N.B.—*As a constant and careful reader of* De Patriot *all through the period in question, I can vouch for the genuineness of the contents of the pamphlet.—T. L. S.*]

"This is now our time to establish the Bond, while a national consciousness has been awakened through the Transvaal war. And the Bond must be our preparation for the future confederation of all the States and Colonies of South Africa. The English Government keeps talking of a confederation under the British flag. That will never happen. We can assure them of that."

English Flag a Hindrance.

"We have often said it: there is just one hindrance to confederation, and that is the English flag. Let them take that away, and within a year the confederation under the free Afrikander flag would be established. But so long as the English flag remains here the Afrikander Bond must be our confederation. And the British will after a while realise that Froude's advice is the best for them: they must just have Simon's Bay as a naval and military station on the road to India, and give over all the rest of South Africa to the Afrikanders."

I have said that the idea of the Bond was conceived in 1879–80, but it was only upon the

Retrocession of the Transvaal

by Gladstone in 1881 that it took definite shape and form. It is well to remember that, as the *Patriot* newspaper claimed in 1881 that it had done more to stir up the Transvaal Dutch to successful war against England than any other paper or influence, it is clear that the Bond, which was the child of *De Patriot*, was purely anti-British in its inception.

Mark especially the following extracts from the pamphlet alluded to:—

"God's hand has been visible in the history of our people so as it never has been since the days of Israel." "Fear from God which made the

English Soldiers Powerless."

"Especially that proud England was compelled to give the Boers back their land, after her soldiers had been repeatedly beaten by a handful of Boers." "Might has run its race against right, and lost, and will never be able to renew the conflict on such favourable terms." "The little respect which the Afrikander still had for British troops and cannons is utterly gone away." "The Englishman has made himself hated, language and all; and this is well."

English Sovereignty gone back.

"The English sovereignty over South Africa has now gone back nearly half a century. Good. Heartily glad of it." "Look at the bold patriots who have abandoned their studies to help their struggling and suffering countrymen," &c., &c.

These extracts show the spirit in which the Bond was conceived.

Of course, the wording of the draft Constitution was more circumspect. We read in the pamphlet alluded to: "The *Free State Express* of 7th April last" (*i.e.* 1881) "publishes the draft of such a Bond similar to what we have several times proposed in *De Patriot*, but worked out more in detail by some friends at Bloemfontein."

Other Founders of the Bond.

These friends were F. W. Reitz, a judge of the Orange Free State, who succeeded Brand as President on the death of the latter, and was the late State Secretary of the Transvaal, the dream of whose life has been to see the establishment of the Dutch Republican United States of South Africa; and Carl Borckenhagen, editor of the *Express*, whose violent hatred of England's rule and flag was the inspiration of his life.

The object of the Bond as projected by these three founders, viz., the Rev. S. J. du Toit, Judge Reitz, and Carl Borckenhagen, was declared in the following words:—

"The object of the Afrikander Bond is the establishment of a South African Nationality through the cultivation of a true love of this our fatherland. This object must be attained by the promotion and defence of the national language, and by Afrikanders both politically and socially making their power to be felt as a nation."

That the nationality spoken of was an anti-British one the extracts already given from *De Patriot* make abundantly clear, but there is much more evidence to the same effect.

Own Flag Resolution.

It is in evidence, on the authority of Mr. T. P. Theron, the present Chairman of the Bond (*see* his speech at the Bond Congress at the Paarl in June of this year), that the following article of a draft "Programme of Principles" was submitted to the Bond Congress as early as 1882, was published as an appendix to the published minutes of 1884, and was only finally altered in 1886:—

"In itself acknowledging no single form of government as the only suitable form, and whilst acknowledging the form of government existing at present, it (the Bond) means that the aim of our national development must be a United South Africa *under its own flag*."

De Patriot, in urging the establishment of the Afrikander Bond, says:—

It must fight the traders, *i.e.*

BOYCOTT THE ENGLISHMEN,

except those British who are willing to work with it. There must be no English shops, no English signboard, no English advertisements, no English book-keepers. Then a National Bank must be started, to displace the English banks. Next, manufactories of Munitions of War must be started in the two Republics; the Transvaal and Free State must "make their own ammunition and be well supplied with cannon, and provide a regiment of artillery to work them." "At Heidelberg there are already 4,000 cartridges made daily, and a few skilful Afrikanders have begun to make shells too. That is right: so must we become a nation." Further

"SELL NO LAND TO ENGLISHMEN."

"The English to whom you have once sold land you will never, never get rid of." "Englishmen that will become Afrikanders by accepting our land, and nation, and language we are very willing to accept." "Now that the war against the English Government is over, the war against the English language must begin." "English education has done more mischief to our country and nation than we can ever express." "War against the English speech in our church. It is the Dutch Reformed Church, what has English to do in it?" "We must insist on Dutch for our children in the schools too." "In our conversation we must still more oppose and expel the English." "It must be considered

A DISGRACE TO SPEAK ENGLISH."

"In our family life above all, a war without quarter must be carried on against English." "This is our declaration of war against the English language." "We call for volunteers. Who will join the war? All true Afrikanders, we hope."

These, then, are the means laid down at the inception of the Afrikander Bond, whereby its object of a South African nationality should be attained; and in the eighteen years that have elapsed these ideas have been put more or less successfully into execution, and we see many of the same ideas being promulgated and attempted to be carried out at the present time.

The Afrikander Bond is in essence what it always has been from the beginning—

DUTCH REPUBLICAN AND ANTI-BRITISH,

though it learnt after a time to cloak its real character in specious and subtly chosen words which should be capable of double meanings.

[N.B.—*May I say here that in this article I use the term anti-English as denoting the crusade against everything English, and the word anti-British as denoting the movement against England herself and her Government?*]

The early years of the Bond history were marked by an openly expressed intensity of hatred for everything English—

Government, language, press, &c. But when the question arose of drawing up and adopting a Permanent Constitution and Programme of Principles which should be published to the world, it was felt that circumspection was necessary, and an influence was exercised in the direction of eliminating the expression of open hostility to everything English from the Bond's programme, in order **that the greater aim of eliminating England's political power from the country might the better progress.**

Branches of the Bond were started on the draft Constitution in the Colony, the Transvaal, and the Free State, and in 1882 the first Congress of the Bond was held at Graaff Reinet.

In 1883 a new Influence

entered the Afrikander Bond, in the amalgamation with it of the Farmers' Protection Association, which was a society started by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr in the west and Mr. D. P. van den Heever in the east, with the expressed purpose of watching over the general interests of the farmers, and of stirring them up to take an interest in political life and parliamentary elections, &c. On the surface these objects were perfectly legitimate, but after-events have made one believe that the founders had a deeper ultimate aim, which found expression in union with the Afrikander Bond.

However that may be, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, who was the leader of the older organisation, upon the amalgamation immediately took rank amongst the leaders of the Bond, and no doubt exercised a moderating influence over the extreme open expression of its anti-British aims.

A New and Dangerous Policy.

Since that date (1883–84) to some extent, and certainly since 1887, it would be incorrect to represent, as many people do, that the Afrikander Bond aimed primarily at creating race hatred between the Dutch and the English, or that its official statements advocated any such policy. Oh! no. The policy was a much more astute and dangerous one than that, namely, **to unite the Dutch and English people in South Africa in a common antagonism to Great Britain's power, influence, and presence in the land.**

Nevertheless, by its not altogether unsuccessful efforts in the direction of this greater object, the Bond did undoubtedly keep up and increase race differences; for the more unenlightened Dutch could not forget the hatred for the *rooineks* so diligently instilled into them for years, especially since Majuba, and even more enlightened ones could not always distinguish between the England they were to oust from South Africa and the Englishmen who lived in it; while those of the latter who were loyal to

England and who saw the, to them, evident intention of the Bond to

DRIVE ENGLAND'S POWER

from the land were embittered against it, and against all who held with its aims.

The following testimony as to the character of the Bond, delivered in 1885 by the Hon. J. X. Merriman, M.L.A., is a very telling and very true indictment:—

"It is now the cue of the Bond to

PRETEND TO BE LOYAL,

and if it were not painful, it would be ridiculous to hear the editor of the *Zuid Afrikaan* cheering the Queen, and to hear Du Toit praying for her, while resolutions are passed round to the branches in direct opposition to the honour of England . . . There is a dividing line between us and the Afrikander Bond and Fenians . . . Each one of you will have to make up his mind whether he is prepared to see this Colony remain a part of the British Empire, which carries with it obligations as well as privileges, or whether he is prepared to obey the dictates of the Bond. From the very first time some years ago, when first the poison began to be distilled in the country, I felt that it must come to this—was

ENGLAND OR THE TRANSVAAL

to be the paramount force in South Africa? . . . What could they think of the objects of the Bond when they found Judge Reitz advocating a Republic of South Africa under one flag . . . No one who wishes well for the British Government could have read the leading articles of the *Zuid Afrikaan*, and *Express*, and *De Patriot* in expounding the Bond principles without seeing that the maintenance of law and order under the British Crown and the object they have in view are absolutely different things . . . My quarrel with the Bond is that it stirs up race difference. Its main object is to make the South African Republic the paramount Power in South Africa."

THE BOND CHANGE OF FRONT.

I have alluded to the change of front on the part of the Bond which began in 1883, when Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr's astute counsels began to sway it, and which was prominently and officially promulgated in the address of Mr. T. P. Theron, the Secretary of the Bond, in 1887.

But other influences beside that of Mr. Hofmeyr contributed to this change. One of these was the fact that the Hollander party in the Government at Pretoria had become stronger than the Afrikander party, and that the father of the Bond, the Rev. S. J. du Toit, who for some years had left the Paarl to fill the position of Superintendent-General of Education in the Transvaal, had been worsted there by the Hollander influence. This treatment helped him to realize that there were worse people than Englishmen, and that he had made a mistake in declaring war against everything English, and it led him to oppose both the Hollanders and Kruger, though still maintaining the interests of the Bond.

Bond Sliminess.

Mr. Theron, the Chairman of the Bond, in his apologetic speech on the Bond at the Paarl Congress in June last, speaking of the "own flag" programme, said that "the Bond did not wish to adopt it." If he had said "wished to adopt it, but did not dare to do so, as it would have been openly declared treason against England," he would have been nearer the mark.

He said further:—

"Though the document of the Rev. du Toit was published along with our minutes as an appendix, it was never acknowledged by the Bond or accepted, and the very question on which it was rejected was the 'own flag' question."

This statement contains some of those half-truths more misleading than open falsehoods. The fact is, that though the programme of principles alluded to had not been formally accepted by the Bond Congress, all the branches of the Bond which had been established in the country, up to 1884–85 at least, had been established on the basis therein laid down.

Even if we accept Mr. Theron's statement as correct, what does it amount to but that the Bond was astute enough to see that, while all its members were united in their desire for "a United South Africa under its own flag," it was dangerous and unnecessary to flaunt that red rag in face of the English Governmen *and of Englishmen whom the Bond desired to capture?*

Mr. Theron's attempt to put the responsibility for the "own flag" idea on the Rev. du Toit alone is

A Mere Subterfuge.

The "own flag" idea was common property among the Bond members. According to Mr. Theron himself, no settled constitution or programme of principles was adopted by the Bond till 1886, and all that went before was tentative—a seeing how far they could go in treading on the Lion's tail without rousing him. The fact is that by 1887 Mr. S. J. du Toit was no doubt quite as ready as Mr. Hofmeyr to drop the verbal reference to flags in connection with the hoped-for "United South Africa."

Mr. Theron, in his address alluded to, makes much of the fact that the Central Bestuur, or Committee, consisting of two delegates from the Colony, two from the Transvaal, and two from the Free State, only assembled once in 1886, at Bloemfontein, and never again, because, Mr. Theron alleges, it was clear and evident the Bond in the Colony could not work with the Transvaal under the threefold motto, "Castes and Classes,"

"Africa for the Afrikanders,"

and "a United South Africa under its own flag," which motto had been proposed for acceptance by a branch of the Bond in

the Transvaal. Of course the Bond in the Cape Colony under the British flag could not adopt the motto officially; it would have been the height of folly to do so, and to put itself in direct opposition to the British Government, but it could act up to it without adopting it, *and it did.*

The Bond in the Transvaal.

The real reason why the Afrikander Bond died out in the Transvaal is because the Dutch people there felt there was no need of it. From Kruger downwards they were already as anti-British in every respect as they could be, and would always be ready to oppose everything English; and they did not need to pay any attention to the Uitlanders' feelings, because the Volksraad would see to it that they did not get any political rights.

The Bond in the Free State.

In the Orange Free State the wise influence of President Brand and of the many who supported his broad policy was exerted against the Bond, and tended to prevent its successful working, and though many of the Dutch inhabitants were in sympathy with the Bond ideas, not even Judge Reitz with all his popularity could make the Bond a permanently living organisation there. The State was already a Dutch Republic, using the Dutch language, &c., and there were not sufficient English to make it worth while opposing them.

In the Cape Colony,

where people, Dutch and English, were still largely loyal to England, where, too, the English were nearly as numerous as the Dutch, where the English language had a strong hold, where the British flag flew—it was there that the urgent need existed, from a Bond point of view, of active effort to instil the Dutch Republican ideals of government, and to quietly sap the foundations of loyalty to Britain, preparatory to the forming of the "pure South African Nationality" which should lead finally to a Dutch Republican United South Africa under its own flag.

The English must Co-operate.

But it was hopeless to expect to achieve this without the co-operation of the English, and therefore the Englishmen must be persuaded to join the Bond, and to that end the utmost care must be taken in the wording of the Constitution and Programme of Principles, to use expressions which, while covering to the downright Bondsman the same anti-British aims and objects as ever, should be capable of a much milder interpretation for the loyal British subject. So the new departure was definitely made, and the tiger clothed in the lamb's skin.

[N.B.—*For the text of the most important articles in the Bond Constitution and Programme of Principles, and an analysis of the same, I must refer the reader to pages* 45–49.]

In 1887 Mr. T. P. Theron, M.L.A., then Secretary, now President of the Bond, delivered a lecture at the Bond Congress at Uitenhage on "The Origin, Progress, and Object of the Afrikander Bond." The delivery of this lecture marks the

Definite New Departure

of the Bond, by which it sought to win those who previously had held aloof from it, by a studied moderation of expression and language, while its aims remained the same as ever.

Mr. Theron said (I quote from the report of his lecture republished in the pro-Bond newspaper, the *South African News* of May 5, 1900, the italics being mine):—

"One other question may be asked, What is the object of the Bond? My reply is: Its object, *its only object*, is expressed in section 5" [evidently a printer's error for section 2] "of the General Constitution, which is worded as follows: 'The nearest object of the Bond is the formation of a South African Nationality, by means of union and co-operation, as a preparation for the ultimate object, a United South Africa. The Bond tries to attain this object by constitutional means, giving to respective Governments and legislatures all the support they are entitled to, and respecting everybody's rights.'"

It is curious to note that in the translation of the Constitution, said to be official, published in the *South African News* on May 26, 1900, the words "they are entitled to" do not appear. If one refers to clause 6 of the Bond Programme of Principles (dealt with on page 48), it is evident that in the opinion of the instructed Afrikander, only those Governments were entitled to support who acted in accordance with Bond principles.

The South African Nationality aimed at.

It was no longer necessary to put into words that the South African Nationality aimed at was to be a Dutch one, and the United South Africa a Dutch Republican South Africa under its own flag; and it was understood by members of the Bond generally, and even by outsiders in touch with the inner working of the Bond, that only the tactics and not the original aims of the Bond were altered.

At the same time Mr. Theron appealed most earnestly to the members of the Bond to remember that

"the eyes of all are directed towards you. The press will cause your actions, expressions, and resolutions to be known everywhere. You cannot but feel how much depends on us for our nation and our country. If we must plead guilty in the past of many an unguarded expression, let us be more cautious and guarded for the future."

"HAPPY WILL BE THE DAY—

and as a Bond member I see it approaching, I hear it coming, my eyes behold its dawn—the day when all differences and disagreements, all strife and disunion, all bickerings about Englishmen and Afrikanders, about English and Dutch, about trifles and little things, will be buried, and will vanish before union and patriotism, and when over their grave all nationalities of South Africa will shake hands as brethren with a cordiality and sincerity formerly unknown, and raise their voices on behalf of their common nationality. May that happy day soon arise.

"BUT ON WHOM DOES IT DEPEND

whether it is to come soon or to be retarded? On you and me, my fellow Bond members. And what will be the means of calling forth its use? The Afrikander Bond, the Bond of South Africa."

No true-hearted South African will fail to re-echo Mr. Theron's beautifully expressed and no doubt heartfelt longings for "that happy day," still so far distant; but note, it was through the success of Bond ideas and of Bond aims that it was to dawn, *i.e.* through uniting Dutch and English in South Africa against the power of England. What a mournful and ironical criticism on these hopes and ideas and aims the present state of South Africa affords, the natural result of the National Afrikander programme pushed into active operation by the two Dutch Republics.

Note particularly, too, that Mr. Theron's warnings are directed against alienating people by imprudent,

UNGUARDED EXPRESSIONS,

by selfishness, &c., never against the anti-Imperial aims and objects of the Bond, which remained exactly what they had been from the commencement. What a world of difference, for instance, if he had said something like this: "We have been wrong in insisting in our thoughts on the Dutch language as part and parcel of the South African Nationality, and in aiming at a United South Africa under a Republican flag. Let us henceforth be quite willing that English should have equal rights with Dutch throughout South Africa, and that the language best suited for our wants should win in the friendly contest. Let us be quite willing to become a United South Africa under the British flag, if Providence orders it so."

No! No! No!

you will never find that Mr. Theron, Mr. Hofmeyr, or any of the leaders of the Bond gave any such advice. But, drop the agitation against things English of small moment, *drop the words* "under its own flag" and all other *words* that offend, and which prevent people from becoming Bond members, and work more diligently than ever for the original aim and object—this is the meaning of the new departure.

Success of the Policy.

Unquestionably this policy was successful in persuading many loyal British subjects and Englishmen to join the ranks of the Bond, or to support it, or to receive its support.

The President of the Bond at the Paarl Congress in June of this year (1900) gloried in the fact "that since 1884 her Majesty's Ministers under responsible Government governed Cape Colony almost exclusively by the aid of the Afrikander Bond." He showed how even in 1884 there were twenty-five Bond members in the Parliament, and how they held the balance of power, how Sir Thomas Upington, Sir Gordon Sprigg, and Mr. Rhodes one after the other sought and accepted their support. This is only too true.

The Afrikander Bond was for many years the only organized political body in the Cape Colony, and it exercised

A Political Tyranny,

which crushed all true free political life and thought under its iron heel. While it deliberately refused to take the reins of Government, and to form a purely Bond Ministry, it constantly aimed at increasing the number of its members in Parliament, and at making it impossible for any Ministry to exist without its support.

The Biggest Catch of the Bond

was of course Cecil John Rhodes, who even before he became Prime Minister in 1890 was supposed to be working in harmony with the organization, and whose words in July 1886, with regard to the Bechuanaland question as to getting rid of the Imperial factor from the situation, had been misunderstood, as if they showed that he was one with the Bond in its anti-British designs. It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that Mr. Rhodes ever accepted or supported the ultimate aim of the Bond, namely, a Republican South Africa. The Bond was working for a United South Africa. This was his object too, and as far as was possible they could work together; but just as the Bond in its heart added to the expression, "A United South Africa," the words "under its own flag," so Mr. Rhodes added the words "under the British flag," and not in his heart alone, but repeatedly in public.

Even Her Majesty's High Commissioner,

Sir Hercules Robinson, in his farewell speech at Capetown in April 1889, expressed himself to the effect that there was no longer any permanent place in South Africa for direct Imperial rule; and the Bond was jubilant, interpreting his words, according to its hopes and aims, as foreshadowing the day when

England would voluntarily retire from South Africa, which it is needless to say was not what Sir Hercules meant, though his words, like Mr. Rhodes's on the same subject, did play into the Bond's hands.

THE CLEVER POLITICIANS

of the Bond laughed in their sleeves to think that they had got the foremost Englishman of the country and the highest official of her Majesty to knuckle to them, and to play their game for them; but they were somewhat out in their reckoning after all.

MR. RHODES BECAME PRIME MINISTER

of the Colony in 1890, with the support of the Bond parliamentary party, and as the head of two successive Ministries remained in power till the beginning of 1896, when the Jameson Raid forced him to resign.

For some years prior to the Raid it might really have seemed to the superficial observer as if the English and Dutch of the Cape Colony, under Mr. Rhodes's leadership, assisted by the Bond parliamentary party and the Bond itself, were being drawn nearer to each other; but there was no permanent reality in this seeming union. It was only the quiet before the storm, or the pause before the wrestle of two mighty contending forces, which was bound to come sooner or later, and which would have come eventually even if there had been no Jameson Raid or Uitlander grievances.

In 1891 the Bond Congress was held at Kimberley, the delegates were warmly welcomed by the inhabitants, and Mr. Rhodes, as Prime Minister, just out from England, made one of his characteristic speeches. It was a bold attempt to win the Bond over to his way of thinking about the Republics in the north, and to get the Dutch of the Cape Colony to unite with the English against the already developing unjust and anti-Uitlander, anti-Colonial, anti-British policy of the South African Republic; and Rhodes, the Bond, and the Kimberleyites fraternised together, but for all that the Bond never changed its original aims and objects.

Then there was another Congress held at Port Elizabeth, when another attempt was made by prominent Britishers to capture the Afrikander Bond with the milk of human kindness; and many seemed willing to delude themselves into the belief that the Bond was a changed character, that it was a loyal institution and would support the Colony and England against the Transvaal; but the Bond had never promised to do any such thing—the Transvaal always had been and was its hope for the future.

Not Everyone was Deluded.

No one who had carefully studied the rise and history of the Bond, and its real inner life as exhibited, not so much in its published programmes as in the speeches of its members and the articles of its official press, could believe that it had ever really departed from the object with which its founders had started it.

I have already quoted the testimony of the Hon. J. X. Merriman in 1885 against the Bond.

Let me now cite the words of Mr. Cronwright Schreiner (then Mr. Cronwright), who in 1893 wrote a paper which was read at the Cradock Farmers' Association on October 7 of that year, entitled "Political Ethics and Political Organization," and who has lately been attempting to plead the cause of the Government of the South African Republic, and *pari passu* of the Afrikander Bond, before the English people.

Mr. Cronwright Schreiner's Evidence.

I do not by any means endorse all the severe animadversions on the Boer character contained in the said paper, but certain statements as to the character of the Afrikander Bond are correct and valuable.

Suffice it to say here (I quote from the *Daily News* of April 20) that Mr. Cronwright, in answer to his own question, "What is the Afrikander Bond?" said, "It is anti-English in its aims: its officers and its language are Dutch, and it is striving to gain such power as absolutely to control the Cape Parliament." The *Daily News* further says Mr. Cronwright found that the Bond's influence on the politics of the Colony was "decidedly pernicious," that it dominated the Parliament, was "absolutely powerful" in up-country districts, and that the fear of offending it had (even then, in 1893) **"paralysed our political life."** Mr. Cronwright further says:—

> "In fact, the Bond has sacrificed the welfare of the country for years to the selfish attainment of one object, namely, *the supremacy of the Dutch-speaking inhabitants of the Colony, regardless of the rights of others*; the imagined good of an ignorant clique of the Dutch has been preferred to the good of the country. These men must not have power; they are wholly unfit to have it," and he designates the Bond as a body "striving solely for its own benighted ends," and "founded and conducted on race lines."

Mr. Cronwright wrote from the English Cape Colony farmer point of view, and did not touch the question of high politics, but his paper bears out the contention that the Bond in 1893 had not really given up the anti-English aims of its earlier years, and was bent on securing the ascendancy of the Afrikander.

To return to history.

THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN MR. RHODES AND THE BOND,

while pernicious in its stifling effect on free political thought and life, was not quite the unholy thing that it seemed to many to be, for Mr. Rhodes never professed to agree with Mr. Hofmeyr or the Bond *in toto*, but only that they should go together as far as possible.

A COMMERCIAL UNION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATES AND COLONIES

extending as far as common customs relations, railway communication, free trade in products, &c., might at all events be obtained, and might pave the way to further union. But Mr. Rhodes never pretended at any time that he was in favour of the Bond ideal—a United South Africa under its own flag—and he more than once publicly stated that the difference about the flag was the one great difference between him and Mr. Hofmeyr.

To Mr. Rhodes, the South African Republic, with its policy of retaining all political power in the hands of the Dutch, and refusing even a commercial union with the British Colonies, was

THE GREAT HINDRANCE TO A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA;

but to the Afrikander Bond the South African Republic remained, despite the commercial suffering it inflicted on the Colony, the centre and hope of Afrikanderdom.

Mr. Rhodes hoped to win the Bond over to his view, and his policy was directed to that end, and at one time it seemed not unlikely that that policy might be successful.

From the time that the Bond in the Cape Colony abandoned the open movement against everything English, and from the time, too, that the Rev. S. J. du Toit became opposed to Kruger and the Hollanders, the Transvaal began to look upon the Bond with some amount of suspicion; and when the wealth of the Rand Goldfields made it possible for the South African Republic to aim at becoming the paramount Power in South Africa and the chief factor in carrying out the anti-British ideas with which the Bond was started, its actions against the interests of the British Colonies put a strain even on the Bond's loyalty to it.

MR. RHODES, THE BOND, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

When, then, it became quite evident to Mr. Rhodes that the South African Republic was determined to permanently block the way to all harmonious working between the various States, and when in 1894–95 it took measures for making itself a strong military power, out of all proportion to its population or its local South African needs, Mr. Rhodes seems to have been driven in despair, as a last resource, to the decision to try to cut the

Gordian knot of South African politics by assisting the Uitlander revolutionists of Johannesburg to rise in revolt against the corrupt and unjust Government which tyrannized over them, and to establish a purer one, which they were certainly entitled to do, if ever a people were, even if the Raid itself was unjustifiable.

In coming to this conclusion he no doubt believed that he would succeed in getting the Bond and its supporters in the Colony to back him up against the Transvaal, as the one centre of bad government, disunion, and unrest in South Africa; but he had never rightly gauged the strength of the Dutch race sentiment, which had always been hidden under the carefully selected verbiage of the Afrikander Bond Constitution and Programme of Principles, and which burst into vigorous life under the stimulus of the Jameson Raid.

Mr. Hofmeyr and the Bond, on the other hand, had for some years been persuading themselves to believe that they had succeeded in winning the foremost Englishman of South Africa over to their side; but they had never seen Rhodes's heart, nor grasped his loyalty to the British Empire, however much he might be and was in favour of the Colonies being allowed to manage their own affairs.

The Jameson Raid in December 1895

was a catastrophe which stripped all parties in South Africa bare of anything but the naked truth. The Bond revolted immediately from association and parliamentary alliance with Mr. Rhodes, and not even the fact, established upon parliamentary inquiry, that he had acted from no sordid or selfish motives in what he had done, availed to heal the wounds inflicted on the National Afrikander ideal.

One result was that the partial estrangement which had existed between the Bond in the Colony and President Kruger's Government disappeared, and the Bond, or at least the majority of the Bond members, warmly espoused the cause and aims of the South African Republic.

Influence of the Raid on Dutch and English.

Many people (chiefly Dutch) who up to that time had paid but little attention to politics, and who thought themselves loyal, although they had already travelled some way towards disloyalty to England in thought and purpose, and others who had been really loyal, were roused by the Raid to range themselves on the side of the Bond and the Transvaal.

Many others (chiefly English), even those who had been misled into connection with the Bond in the past, or who had joined to try and keep it loyal, and who condemned the Raid while they realized that Mr. Rhodes's motives had been the good of South

Africa and not personal aggrandizement—these saw the real aims and objects of the Bond clearly for the first time, and banded themselves together to resist it, and became known as the Progressive party.

Free Political Life Possible.

In fact, deplorable as the Raid was, it did this good, that it made free political life possible in the Cape Colony, because it put an end to the alliance which had so long lasted between the Ministry of the Queen of England and the Afrikander Bond with its anti-British aims.

Divided Councils prevailed

for a time between the leaders of the Bond, as a result of which the Rev. S. J. du Toit, on account of his supposed anti-Transvaal sympathies, lost the high position he previously occupied in the body, and the power of the South African Republic in the Bond in the Cape Colony was proportionately increased, while the Bond itself became more openly an advocate of the Transvaal. The South African Republic took the deepest interest in the strengthening of the Bond party in the Cape Parliament, and worked for its success at the parliamentary elections, as an effectual means of prosecuting plans against Great Britain's supremacy.

The Bond bent all its energies to secure that success. Rhodes was represented by its press, and platform, and pulpit as the incarnation of everything wicked, and

"Away with Rhodes!" "Crush Rhodes!"

became the party cry.

The Bond was even willing to swallow for the time, though with a wry face, its most cherished convictions on the native question, and to truckle to Mr. Tengo Jabavu, the clever Kaffir editor of the newspaper *Imvo*, in order to gain his vote and support.

The simple country people throughout the Colony were roused up by the tales of the "bath of blood" that would signalize the accession of the Progressive party to power, and of the peace and prosperity that would follow the advent of a Bond Ministry.

A New Alliance was formed

between Messrs. J. H. Hofmeyr, W. P. Schreiner, J. X. Merriman, and J. W. Sauer, and the new political policy of the Bond indicated at a public meeting, when Mr. Hofmeyr of all men posed as a negrophilist to catch the black man's vote, Mr. Merriman as a lover of the Afrikander Bond, to conciliate that body for his former speeches, while Mr. Schreiner supplied the element of loyalty to the Queen, necessary to disarm the fears of the Britishers.

When the Bond party, though not really possessing the majority of the voters in the whole Colony, was reinforced by these tactics, and by the active assistance of the ministers of the Dutch Church, and thus came, though only by a narrow margin, into parliamentary power in 1898; and when it was further strengthened by the result of the elections which took place under the Redistribution Bill, the hopes of the Afrikander Republican party in both Republics and in the British Colonies ran high—too high, it seems, for safety, to judge by what has occurred.

The South African League.

One of the results due to the Raid, and the increased political activity of the Bond which supervened, was the establishment of the South African League, whose *raison d'être* was and is the necessity of upholding British supremacy in South Africa, which had been for so many years secretly undermined and endangered by the influence of the Dutch Republics and the Bond. That there was a crying need for such an organization no student of South African history during the last twenty years can doubt.

The Bond's undisputed Political Tyranny

had lasted for long years, but it had henceforth to confront an active earnest opponent with one simple definite aim expressed in plain language.

The Loyalty of the Bond.

The Bond had felt it necessary, in connection with the parliamentary elections, to mention and proclaim its loyalty to the Queen. How real that profession was may be estimated by the fact that since then many of its members have been in open rebellion against her Majesty's forces, and several of them who are members of Parliament are either in prison awaiting trial on a charge of treason, or have been fighting in the enemies' ranks.

The loyalty which the Bond professes for the Queen is not loyalty, as Englishmen understand the word, viz., a love for the honour and name, the fame and character of England; but merely a certain respect felt for the Queen* personally, which is

* It is a curious fact that this Afrikander loyalty to the Queen is not given to her as Sovereign, but as a good woman, and that the idea has been very prevalent, and often expressed in Afrikander circles, that that loyalty would cease with her death and not be extended to her successor. During last Session Mr. Bellingan, a member of the Cape Legislative Council, is reported in the *Cape Times* to have said in the course of a debate in the House, that "if the policy of annexation were adhered to, they (the Afrikanders) would take advantage of England's calamity and throw off the yoke." And the Bond newspaper, *Ons Land*, is reported as making the member say that when the Queen came to die, and storms burst over the Empire, the Afrikanders would not side with England if the Republics were annexed; and the member himself, in a letter to the *Cape Times*,

consistent in the Afrikander mind with hatred of England and things English, and with wishing success to her enemies.

The Expectation of the Republics.

This much is certain, that the Republics, especially in the absence of any definite promise of assistance from any great world power, would never have had the madness to undertake to declare war against England had they not expected that the Bond would rouse the Dutch of the Cape Colony to join their ranks. The Bond on the whole as an organization in the Cape Colony has not done so, and let that fact stand to its credit and that of its leaders for as much as it is worth; but its sympathy has been on the side of the Republics in the war, which is largely the result of its teachings and efforts during the last eighteen years.

The Bond Disapproved of the War.

It is true that the Bond Ministry, the Bond parliamentary party, and the Bond itself have expressed disapproval of the war, there being in their opinion no valid reason for it, but at the same time they did not direct their appeals for peace to the right quarter; for it was the Transvaal Government backed by the Orange Free State which decided to make war rather than give just political rights to the Uitlanders who had settled in the country, because they feared that the giving of these rights would endanger Dutch supremacy. While asking for peace they encouraged the Republics to twist the British Lion's tail till there was no chance of peace left. Practically the Bond's disapproval of the war was limited to disapproval of England's part in it.

And when War did break out,

upon the unavoidable rejection of the Transvaal ultimatum by Great Britain, and when the Republics, who had been preparing a long time for war, invaded British colonial territory and met with some considerable success, many members of the Afrikander National party throughout the country sided with the invaders where they did not openly invite and assist them. Many parts of the Cape Colony are seething at the present moment with passive rebellion, which is only not active because it has not had the chance to become so, and this is the result of the Afrikander propaganda.

The Republics Disappointed.

It is not matter for surprise that Kruger, Steyn, Reitz, and the leaders on the Boer side generally are reported to be pouring

states that what he said was: "He saw difficulty for the British Empire after the death of our beloved Queen. By giving the Republicans their independence, England could reckon upon them as friends, but if the Republics were annexed she could not do so."

out the vials of their wrath and contempt on the Bond for having seemed to promise them so much assistance, and to have given them so little. They expected 40,000 Bond helpers from the Cape Colony, and they have had only some ten or twelve thousand. Had the Republics been able to choose their own time and opportunity for sending an ultimatum to England, when she should have happened to be in some great complication, or even engaged in hostilities with some other great world Power, and when also the Dutch Republican propaganda should more fully have permeated the people of the Cape Colony, and when a *bonâ-fide* Bond Ministry should have been ruling the roast for many years,—under such circumstances the Afrikander Bond in the Cape Colony would no doubt have risen to what was expected of it by its Transvaal and Free State allies; but as matters stood it did not do so, except in the districts of the Colony which were entered by the Boer forces.

In Fairness to the Bond

we must record that it has been stated in the Cape Parliament, and there seems no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement, that some of the members of the Bond parliamentary party have exercised their influence during the course of the present war to keep the Dutch people from rising in rebellion in certain districts of the Cape Colony contiguous to those in which hostilities have raged; and these members deserve the utmost credit for this.

But what about the Bond members of Parliament who joined the enemy, and others whose influence has been on the enemy's side, and that not only in districts contiguous to hostilities?

We know too that the late Premier of the Cape Colony,

The Hon. W. P. Schreiner,

who, although he had never joined the Afrikander Bond, was the leader of the parliamentary Bond party, and whose influence over the Afrikander National party in the Cape Colony in 1899 was complete and unbounded, nobly and loyally, and to some extent successfully, used all that immense influence to prevent rebellion and civil war; and he succeeded as far as we know in getting some of the leaders of the Bond to back him up; but this action in no way disproves the contention that the war was largely the result of the influence and teaching of the Bond.

The Bond had for all these years been preparing

Materials for a Conflagration,

but when the Republics applied the match and lighted the bonfire, it, or rather some of its leaders, shrank from increasing the blaze, but it could not undo its own work of the past. The very

fact that some of the Bond members of Parliament had to exert all their influence in certain districts to prevent their constituents from rising in rebellion against a Government against which they had no grievances whatsoever, and from which they had received the blessings of liberty and justice, religious, political, civil, and social, proves that the anti-British or Dutch Republican propaganda which the Bond and its various agencies had been so diligently setting forward ever since the retrocession of the Transvaal had taken deep root, and grown up beyond the power of extirpation, except by violent means.

No doubt the Bond had hoped

to secure its aims by constitutional means rather than by war. No doubt, too, it was in a most awkward position, after all the professions of loyalty to the Queen which it had been making at the recent elections, should it seem to encourage disloyalty and rebellion. And yet we find that the Bond parliamentary party, backed up by the Bond Congress, has fought as for dear life against the just and lenient provisions of the Treason Bill, by which it is enacted that the rank and file of those who have been in open and armed rebellion against the Queen shall be punished only by five years' disfranchisement. The Bond claims that they shall be forgiven, and that they did no wrong in joining the Boer forces against England.

Rebellion, in fact, is no Rebellion

in the eyes of the Bond so long as it be in accord with the Afrikander National ideal. The anarchists, too, believe that murder is no murder if it be the murder of a king or queen.

The Bond stands self-condemned by its present action as guilty of all the evil influence that has been ascribed to it. So wedded is it to its disloyal view of the question that, rather than give it up, it has abandoned its—only a few months ago—deservedly trusted parliamentary leader, the Hon. W. P. Schreiner, and brought about the fall of the Ministry of which he was the head, because he endeavoured to persuade them to approve of even a lenient punishment on the mass of those who have risen in rebellion and shot down the Queen's soldiers and their own fellow-colonists and looted the property of loyal fellow-citizens.

The Bond has also declared itself

Against the Annexation of the Republics

to Great Britain. This is only natural and in accord with the Dutch Republican ideals which it has promulgated and upheld all along. Afrikander delegates were despatched to England to plead for the continued independence of the Republics. The position taken up by the Bond party towards

England is in reality this: England must give and leave to us a centre of Dutch Republican interest and power in South Africa from which we can work undisturbed against the interests and influence of the British Empire, or we shall ceaselessly and continuously stir up the Afrikanders to rebel against her. If the Bond had the real interests of South Africans, Dutch and English at heart, it would, now that annexation has taken place, use its influence to persuade all the inhabitants to settle down peacefully to the new order of things and accept the true freedom, justice, liberty, and prosperity which is always to be found under the British flag, instead of doing its best to stir them up to continued unrest, disunion, and rebellion.

"Semper Eadem."

No! the Bond has not departed from the anti-British aims and feelings with which it was founded. It is true that its original founder, the Rev. S. J. du Toit, has of late years changed his views, influenced largely, no doubt, by the terrible object lesson given in the Transvaal of what a Dutch anti-British policy leads to, and he has become a supporter of the Imperial policy as opposed to Kruger's. On this very account he has become discredited by the Bond which he founded, and lost the position of high trust and influence in its ranks which he always held up to the time of his change of opinion. This fact is strong evidence as to the *semper eadem* character of the Bond aims and objects. The attempt of Mr. Theron, the Chairman of the Bond, and of Mr. Mackarness, the Bond apologist in England, to give the impression that Mr. du Toit has been discredited by the Bond because of his anti-British views of many years ago, instead of because of his pro-British views of the last few years, is ludicrous.*

Mr. F. W. Reitz, another founder of the Bond, has not departed from his and its original aims, for he has taken a leading part in seeking to carry them out, even at the cost of

War with the British Empire—

a course which he stated to me, as far back as 1882, that he would be ready to take if necessary when the proper moment arrived. Not very long before he penned his outrageous

* Changes were made in 1898 by the Afrikander Bond in its Provincial Constitution for the Cape Colony by which despotic powers were granted to the Provincial Committee to dissolve branches of the Bond at its own will, and also to the Election Supervision Committee to refuse to announce lawfully nominated Bond candidates for Parliament, and Mr. du Toit claims that these changes have entirely overthrown the democratic character of the Bond, turned it upside down, and placed it at the mercy of two or three dictators.

It is of interest to know that the present Provincial Committee consist of Messrs. T. P. Theron, M.L.A., Chairman; D. Y. A. van Zyl, M.L.A., Vice-Chairman; N. F. du Waal, M.L.A., Secretary; (J. J. Michau, Assistant Secretary); and the Election Supervision Committee, of Messrs. the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, Dr. Hoffman, M.L.A., of Boer ambulance notoriety, and T. P. Theron, M.L.A.

ultimatum to Great Britain, he took occasion to deliver a lecture in Johannesburg on the Afrikander Bond, in which he clearly showed that his original estimate of the value of the Bond as a means to an end was unimpaired, and expressed his regret that the Society was not actively working in the Republics.

In his Book, "A Century of Wrong,"

issued since the war began, and one would say from internal evidence written in preparation for it, he says in his introductory appeal to brother Afrikanders:—

"The struggle of now nearly a century hastens to an end; we are approaching the last act in that great drama which is so momentous for all South Africa." "The questions which present themselves for solution in the approaching conflict have their origin deep in the history of the past. . . . By its light we are more clearly enabled to comprehend the truth to which our people appeal as a final justification for embarking on

The War now so close at hand."

Again, in his concluding peroration we read:—

"May the hope which glowed in our hearts during 1880, and which buoyed us up during that struggle, burn on steadily! May it prove a beacon of light in our path, invincibly moving onwards through blood and through tears, until it leads us to a real union of South Africa . . . Whether the result be Victory or Death, Liberty will assuredly rise on South Africa . . . just as freedom dawned over the United States of America a little more than a century ago. Then from Zambesi to Simon's Town it will be

Africa for the Afrikander." *

Mr. Reitz has always honestly and openly expressed his views, and the Afrikander Bond has never repudiated either

* Some apologists for Mr. Reitz have sought to show that he could not have been as anti-British in his aims as the book quoted from proves him to have been, because he is alleged to have suggested Sir George Grey as a suitable candidate for the Presidency of the Orange Free State in lieu of himself.

From the statement made by the veteran Transvaal journalist, John S. Scoble, for twenty-seven years a dweller in the Transvaal, in the book issued by him and H. R. Abercrombie, of the Cape Intelligence Department, entitled "The Rise and Fall of Krugerism," on page 92, it would seem clear that the Presidential election at which this suggestion was made was not the one following President Brand's death, but a previous one, at which Reitz was proposed as a rival candidate to Brand; when, in his desire to see someone else than Brand as President, and knowing that he had no chance to oust Brand himself, he suggested that both he and Brand should retire from the Presidential election should Sir George Grey *accept* the invitation, "of which," say Scoble and Abercrombie, "there was not the slightest chance." They say further, "On this ground Mr. Reitz has been paraded in some circles as being at one time a quasi-Imperialist. He played upon those lines until the Free State Railway was built for him by the Cape Colony on special terms, but directly the Free State took it over he showed his hand. To anyone who doubts this we commend the perusal of a little book of rhymes which Mr. Reitz composed many years ago. They were published in Dutch, and the spirit of ardent Republicanism breathes through the whole of them."

At a time when the Afrikander National party was angling for the support of such men as Cecil John Rhodes and her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, and deluding itself into believing that it had secured it, it is not difficult to understand that Mr. Reitz may have thought Sir George Grey might be won over

them or him, though it has changed the verbiage of its constitution so as to disarm suspicion.

The third founder of the Bond, the late C. Borckenhagen, continued the bitter enemy of everything British, and the open advocate of Dutch Republicanism throughout South Africa, as long as he lived; and it were as superfluous to seek to prove this from the columns of the *Express* of Bloemfontein as to attempt to prove that the sun is shining when it is clearly visible in mid-heaven.

MR. J. H. HOFMEYR, THOUGH NOT THE FOUNDER

of the Bond, has certainly exercised an immense influence over it, and for many years has been its virtual leader. He has never unbosomed himself to the world, preferring to work through other men under his influence, and his public utterances have always been marked with exceeding caution. While undoubtedly the originator of the milder phraseology adopted by the Bond in 1884–1887, he has never repudiated its original aims and objects, and has always been credited with hoping and working for a United South Africa under its own flag, and with being the leader of the Afrikander National party in that direction.

There may not be, and most likely is not, any proof that Mr. Hofmeyr has aimed at reaching that goal by means of war against England, or that he spurred the Republics on to declare war. He, and some others with him in the Cape Colony, seem to have hoped that a United South Africa under its own flag might eventually come into existence by

THE USE OF CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS,

and, unlike Mr. Reitz, to have really shrunk from trying to secure the triumph of Afrikanderdom at the cost of war. Nevertheless, as leaders, they have aided and abetted ideas, aspirations, words, and deeds, which could end, in the long run, in nothing but war with England, unless, indeed, that country could be induced voluntarily to retire from South Africa.*

to the setting forward of the Afrikander ideal in a constitutional way. Froude, Rhodes, Sir Hercules, Sir George—why with such a team helping to draw the Bond chariot how swiftly might it not have reached the goal!

* It has been alleged, and much has been made of the allegation as proving Mr. Hofmeyr's loyalty to Great Britain, that in 1885 the Capetown branch of the Afrikander Bond, of which he is Chairman, passed a Bye-law to the effect that it expected its members to discountenance any attempt to break the connection existing between the Cape Colony and the British Empire, and that in 1898 the Cape Distrikts Bestuur reaffirmed this Bye-law on Mr. Hofmeyr's proposition.

This allegation, if correct, only goes to prove that an attempt to break the connection existing between the Cape Colony and the British Empire did exist, and also the accuracy of the position taken up in the present article, namely, that in 1885 Mr. Hofmeyr and other leaders of the Bond made a new departure by dropping the open anti-British crusade in order to conciliate loyal Colonial Britishers, and that in 1898 loyalty to the Queen was made a cry of the Bond party for election purposes. The alleged facts in no wise prove the loyalty of the Bond as a whole, nor even of Mr. Hofmeyr. It must be remembered that the Capetown branch of the Afrikander Bond *has always been a small and weak branch,*

That Mr. Hofmeyr has been a curb on the wild and fiery spirits of the Bond, and has not purposely stirred up racial differences, is true, for he no doubt saw clearly that the day-dream of South African

REPUBLICANISM MIGHT BE WRECKED

on the rocks of an anti-English prejudice; but he has fostered a power which he has been unable to control, which has increased the very race prejudice he wished to avoid, and which by its unfettered development in the Transvaal has brought ruin on itself and all connected with it.

IF PRESIDENT KRUGER HAD WELCOMED

the new-comers to a share in the government of the Transvaal, he would have built the independence of that Republic on a firm and lasting foundation, which might possibly have led to further triumphs for Republicanism, perhaps eventually even to the establishment of the United Republican States of South Africa, though it is difficult to conceive how that could ever have become possible in view of the large proportion of the white population of South Africa, not to speak of the coloured and native races, who are loyalists and Imperialists, but whose existence the Bond persistently tries to ignore, and whose deep attachment to Queen, Empire, and flag it ridicules where it cannot deny.

But Kruger and his party destroyed all chance of realizing the Republican daydream, when they put *Dutch* supremacy in the foreground of all else. If the Transvaal was not to remain a *Dutch* State, with a *Dutch* Raad, speaking only the *Dutch* language, &c., &c., then,

RATHER WAR WITH ENGLAND

than concede political rights to the Uitlanders, which might lead to equal rights to the two nationalities and languages, and perhaps finally to the predominance of English in the government of the Republic. And the Afrikander Bond and Messrs. Hofmeyr, Theron, De Waal, Hoffman, and others, as its leaders, have helped to bring about this fatal conclusion. Truly, "whom the gods would destroy, they first make insane."

numerically considered, though containing as members J. H. Hofmeyr and other leaders.

If Mr. Hofmeyr had been earnest in his desire to make the Bond in the Cape Colony loyal to the British connection, why did he limit his efforts in that direction to the Capetown branch and Distrikts Bestuur, which were largely comprised of one and the same people? He was virtual ruler and dictator in the Bond. Why did he never even attempt to get a similar resolution to the one mentioned above passed by the Bond Congress of the Cape Colony? With Mr. Hofmeyr at the back of it, it ought to have been an easy thing to do, if the Bond was the loyal organization that it claimed to have been; but this was never done.

The isolated Bye-law said to have been passed by the Capetown branch in 1885, and reaffirmed in 1898, is, of course, creditable to that branch; but it must not be forgotten that it was useful as a means of throwing dust in the eyes of outsiders and loyal Britishers, and that it left the original purpose and aim of the Bond as an organization absolutely untouched and unimpaired. It was only one more slim dodge

Is it too much to hope

that the Afrikander Bond even now at the eleventh hour will acknowledge its error and abandon its struggle for Dutch supremacy, and will utilize all its power in the direction of bringing about absolute union between the two European nationalities in South Africa?

If it does this, its past might be forgiven and forgotten; but while we have the Bond making excuses for rebellion, and the Secretary of the Bond threatening us in the Parliament that the Bond will be more formidable in the future than it has been in the past, we see that the leopard has not changed its spots, but that the Bond intends still, as ever, to endeavour to play the tyrant in South African politics, even as Kruger has played the tyrant in the Transvaal, and to prevent the springing up and growth of healthy, free, progressive, and enlightened political life.

Slavery to Bond Tyranny.

No words can express the sense of abject slavery to low and unworthy principles and aims, which weighted the hearts and minds of South Africans who were loyal to Great Britain, and to those principles on which the British Empire is founded and carried on, during all the years in which the Afrikander Bond, octopus-like, fastened the suckers of its slimy arms on the body politic, and even on the foremost political leaders.

That Slavery is at an end,

thank God! and thanks too to the wise, strong, brave, deep-seeing man who has ruled at Government House, Capetown, for the last few years; and it must and shall never be imposed on us again; nor are there wanting signs that the Bond will need all its energies to fight for its own existence, and can never again hope to enthral the free political life of the country.

The Bond the Great Hindrance to Unity.

The Afrikander Bond professes to aim at the creation of a United South Africa, but its underlying racial purpose of Dutch supremacy and Dutch pseudo-Republicanism makes it the greatest hindrance in the way to the attainment of that great object.

I earnestly appeal

to my Dutch fellow-countrymen to abandon the anti-British policy of the Afrikander Bond, which, if persistently continued with any degree of success, must ultimately lead to a still greater horror than the present war—*i.e.* a civil war in South Africa between them and the loyal South Africans to whom the land as truly belongs by birth and adoption as to the Dutch, and who love it as dearly and passionately, though they do desire the British flag to wave over them, and are willing to die to retain it.

Surely the Providence that brought the Dutch and the English to South Africa, and placed them under the supremacy of England, must have purposed that the two nationalities should under the fostering care of that power coalesce and form one South African people, not Dutch nor English, but South African—a people second to none in all that makes a nation great and noble, and linked with the other brotherhoods of nations that are proud to be connected with the Mother Empire.

This is the only legitimate outcome of the various facts in the history of South Africa for the last hundred years, down to and including the present sad war, which I unhesitatingly ascribe to the ambition of Dutch pseudo-Republicanism to measure swords, either constitutionally or literally, with England—an ambition, the underlying spirit of which has been from the beginning the motive power of the Afrikander Bond, whether openly acknowledged or secretly understood.

IV.

THE CAPE CONTRIBUTION TO THE NAVY.

A good deal has been made of the fact that the Bond agreed in 1897 to the proposition, that the Cape Colony should grant £30,000 per annum towards the expenses of the English Navy, as proving that the Bond is loyal to the Empire.

But when one studies the question in all its bearings, one finds that such is not the case. In the first place the general memberhood of the Bond were dead against the proposal, until the clever leaders showed them that it would further the Afrikander cause to make the grant. Practically the reasoning of the leaders would amount to this: We are not able to protect our coasts ourselves; some powerful naval nation must do it for us, and England is as good as any other or better. The Bond programme from the beginning has been—the mainland of Africa for the Afrikander, and England to have a naval station at Simon's Town and to guard our coast. This £30,000 per annum tends to the fulfilment of that programme and is a step in the right direction. If England would only voluntarily retire from the mainland, we, the Afrikander Republics, with the wealth of the Transvaal at our disposal, would not mind giving her four times as much money to guard our coasts, until such time as our own fleet should be able to do it. The voting of the £30,000 will help to make the simple English people believe in the loyalty of the Dutch colonists to the Union Jack, and that will be a great advantage, and tend to increase our power.

It is significant that Mr. Merriman said during the debate on the question, "He believed that there was behind the motion

a *true principle of nationality* and a *true principle of freedom.*' (The italics are mine.)

The idea that England should hand over the mainland of South Africa to Republican Afrikanderdom, while she should limit herself to a naval station at Simon's Town, and for a consideration protect our coasts, was not only the idea of the Afrikanders in 1881, but since the war began Dr. Englenberg, the editor of the *Volkstem*, is reported to have published an article in a European magazine advocating the same view, and Dr. Leyds is credited with having put the same idea forward as the basis of settlement at the time when it seemed as if the Republican forces were getting the best of it.

V.

THE PROGRAMME OF PRINCIPLES AND CONSTITUTION of the AFRIKANDER BOND.

The Afrikander Bond has carried to perfection the art of using language to conceal as well as at the same time to reveal thought; and there are in general two meanings to every important statement and act that emanates from it or its leaders, the one the surface meaning for outsiders who are to be hoodwinked; the other, the hidden and true meaning for the true Bondmen or "opregte Afrikanders."

I purpose to examine the Programme of the Principles and Constitution of the Bond, and to show that the contention here made holds good with respect to all its important statements.

A translation of the Bond Programme of Principles and Constitution was published on May 26, 1900, in the pro-Bond newspaper, the *South African News*, and was declared to be the official one. It runs thus:—

PROGRAMME OF PRINCIPLES OF THE AFRIKANDER NATIONAL PARTY.

1. The Afrikander National Party acknowledges the guidance of Providence also in the destiny of countries and nations.

2. Its aim is to form, under the guidance of Providence, a pure Nationality, and to prepare our countrymen to establish a "United South Africa."

3. To gain this object, it considers necessary—
   (*a*) To acquire a firm Union of the different European Nationalities in South Africa, and
   (*b*) To promote the self-dependence of South Africa.

4. It considers that the Union referred to in clause 3 (*a*) should rest on a clear and plain conception of each other's common interests in politics, agriculture, stock breeding, commerce, and industry, and on the acknowledgment of each other's peculiar rights regarding religion, education, and language, so that all jealousy between the different national elements of our countrymen be removed, and place be made for a palpable South African feeling.

5. To promote the Independence, clause 3 (*b*), it expects :—

(*a*) That the feeling of national self-respect and of patriotism towards South Africa shall be developed and cherished in schools, families, and by means of the press;

(*b*) That an election system be applied, by which not only the rights of number, but also of property and of intellect be acknowledged, and to guard as much as possible against bribery and coercion at elections;

(*c*) That our agriculture, stock breeding, commerce, and trade be supported by all lawful means, as, for instance, by an efficient Masters and Servants Act, and by a circumspect and judiciously applied system of protection;

(*d*) That the South African Colonies and States regulate their Native question themselves, either separately or by mutual agreement, thereby developing the active forces of the country by means of efficient civil laws;

(*e*) That foreign intervention with the local concerns of South Africa be guarded against.

6. While acknowledging the Governments existing in South Africa, and intending to fulfil its obligations towards them faithfully, it considers that it is likewise the duty of those Governments to promote the interests of South Africa in accordance with the foregoing clauses; and while it guards on the one hand against unnecessary or rash interferences with the domestic and private affairs of the burgher, against all direct interference with the religious development of the nation, and against enactments which might impede the unfettered influence of the Gospel on our countrymen, on the other hand to discharge all the direct duties of good government, under which may be classed :—

(*a*) Taking into account in all its general doings the Christian character of the people;

(*b*) Maintaining the freedom of religion for everyone, as long as the public order and honour are not injured;

(*c*) Acknowledging and carrying out the religious, social, and bodily wants of the people for the existing weekly day of rest;

(*d*) The application of an equal judicious tax system;

(*e*) To bring into operation an impartial, and as much as practicably (*sic*), an inexpensive efficient administration of justice; and

(*f*) To guard the public honour, and to watch against the adulteration of breadstuffs, and the pollution of soil, air, or water, as well as against the spreading of contagious diseases.

7. To enable these principles to gain a footing the Africander National Party comes forward as a self-dependent party, and enters into co-operation with other parties only when it can do so without the violation of its principles.

General Constitution of the Bond.

Art. 1.—The Afrikander Bond establishes itself in the various States and Colonies of South Africa.

Art. 2.—The chief object of the Bond is the formation of a South African Nationality by union and co-operation, as a means to the object in view, a United South Africa. This object the Bond endeavours to gain by constitutional means, giving all support to the respective Governments and Legislatures, and respecting the rights of each.

Art. 3.—Any one may become a member who in a proper way, and by signing the following schedule, declares that he will maintain the declared principles and observe the duties of the same.

"The undersigned hereby declares with his signature to embrace and maintain the declared principles of the Afrikander Bond, and binds himself to fulfil faithfully the duties of membership of the Bond according to the constitution."

The remaining Articles of the Constitution deal with the management and organization of the Bond, and though interesting, need not be reproduced here.

The question is—

WHAT IS THE INNER MEANING

of the words used in the above Programme and Constitution? In what sense are they understood by the true Bondman or "opregte Afrikander"? I am in a position to answer this question, not theoretically but practically, by reason of the large intercourse that I have had with the rank and file of the Dutch people in South Africa, and my intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Bond press.

The leaders of the Bond have, of course, since the new departure in 1885–87, been very circumspect in their language, and have only now and then been betrayed into letting the cat out of the bag, but the mass of the membership have always been willing to state their views, and hopes, and intentions with more or less openness, and the explanation of their reading of the meaning of the Programme of Principles and Constitution which follows may be depended on as correct, and can be substantiated by the testimony of thousands in South Africa.

THE EXPLANATION AND ELUCIDATION.

The following then is the creed of the "true Bondman" or "opregte Afrikander" with regard to the meaning of the Programme of Principles:—

1. The Afrikander National Party of clause 1 means those South Africans, Dutch or English, who will work together to overthrow the power of England in South Africa and strengthen the Dutch Republican power.

2. The mention of Providence in clauses 1 and 2 indicates the belief that the Dutch Republicans are the people of God, and the loyal British His enemies.

3. The "pure nationality" of clause 2 is the "Dutch nationality," and the "United South Africa" is a "Dutch Republican South Africa," *i.e.* "a United South Africa under its own flag." "Our countrymen," which, by the way, should have been "our people," means the Dutch Afrikanders and those English who agree with their views and aims.

4. The "firm union of the different European nationalities" mentioned in clause 3 (*a*) is explained in clause 4 as resting on "a clear conception of each other's common interests in politics, &c." These "common interests in politics" include the endeavour to oust England from South Africa, and this is the very essence of the "palpable South African feeling" which it is sought to create.

5. "The self-dependence of South Africa" of clause 3 (*b*), which is to be promoted, is called "the Independence" with a capital "I" in clause 5, and it means Independence from England and England's power, and nothing less. One word may be the key to the deciphering of a whole language, system, or policy; and the meaning of the Dutch word "zelfstandigheid" as translated "self-dependence" in clause 3 (*b*), and "Independence" in clause 5 will repay close investigation, as was shown in a letter which appeared in the *Cape Times* of last June 14, entitled "The Aim of the Bond." Therein is made clear that "zelfstandigheid" means not only "self-dependence," but "Independence," and can be used in speaking of a nation

as equivalent to "onafhankelijkheid," and that therefore the Bond was both correct and very "slim" in using this word in the two-fold sense.

6. In order to carry out the "Independence of South Africa" the "opregte Afrikander" understands clause 5 (*a*) to approve of such disloyal, anti-British influences, words, and acts, as have been exhibited at the schools and colleges of Stellenbosch, Burghersdorp, and many other places in the Colony, not to speak of the Transvaal (*see* pages 8 and 9), and of the propaganda against England carried on by such papers as the *Volkstem*, the *Bloemfontein Express*, *Ons Land*, &c. (*see* pages 7 and 8).

7. The character of the "election system" mentioned in clause 5 (*b*) may be gauged after all these years of practical working by Hofmeyr's Act for disfranchising coloured voters, by his further attempt, fortunately unsuccessful, to give two votes to certain classes of the population, and by the attempts made by field-cornets to manipulate the registration lists in the interests of the Bond.

8. The objects named in clause 5 (*c*) have been more or less successfully carried out to the satisfaction of Bondmen, for instance, in the anti-scab agitation, the rejection of an Excise, the attempt to pass a Strop Bill, and in the levying of protective duties on bread and meat, the very necessaries of life of the working population of the towns.

9. The native question is the "opregte Afrikander's" strong point, and he fully understands that under the mild sounding verbiage of clause 5 (*d*) is included the plan of gradually taking away political and civil rights from natives and coloured people, and the reducing of them, as in the South African Republic, to the position of mere animals.

10. The "opregte Afrikander" understands that the foreign intervention which clause 5 (*e*) asserts must be guarded against is the claim of England to a say in the affairs of South Africa, and the result of acting up to this idea has culminated in the declaration of war by the Republics against England, and in the war and rebellion that has followed. Even now the "opregte Afrikander" denies England's right to punish those of her subjects who have risen in active and open rebellion against her.

11. In clause 6 the Afrikander Bond kindly and graciously acknowledges the Governments existing in South Africa and expresses its intention of fulfilling its obligations towards them, but the "true Bondman" understands that the fulfilment of this intention depends on these Governments doing their duty, that is, to promote the interests of South Africa in accordance with the foregoing clauses; in other words, in accordance with the views and aims of the Afrikander Bond. The Bond therefore is supreme and above the Governments. The late wise President Brand, of the Orange Free State, objected to the Bond as creating an *imperium in imperio*, but he might have put it stronger still, for it practically aims at tyrannizing over all Governments.

The last portion of clause 6 and the summary of the various duties which should be comprised under the head of good government do not call for special notice, many of these minor aims of the Bond being of a praiseworthy character, though even here a casual reader would scarcely gather that the unexceptionable verbiage of clause (*e*) could really cover, as it does, the attempt to give power to field-cornets to administer lashes to the coloured servants of the farmers for offences under the Masters and Servants Act.

Clause 7 indicates the astute political policy to be followed by the Bond—no compromise of its foundation principles, no co-operation with other parties except in so far as such co-operation furthers the main object of the Bond, *i.e.* the throwing off of

the rule of England. The Bond aims at holding the balance of power in colonial Legislatures, and thus tyrannizing over the Governments without, however, assuming the responsibility of forming a Ministry until such time as it shall be strong enough to ride roughshod over the heads of all other parties, even as President Kruger's Government has done.

So much for the Programme of Principles. With regard to the inner meaning of the Articles of

THE GENERAL BOND CONSTITUTION

the following exposition may be given :—

A. Article 1 indicates the colossal and widespread character of the Afrikander aims. The anti-British Dutch pseudo-Republican cult laid down in the Programme of Principles is to permeate every State and Colony till all are ripe for the throwing off of England's yoke. There is something Napoleonic in the very words " The Bond establishes itself." It is the language of some Power conscious of its greatness and majesty.

B. The South African Nationality, the formation of which is stated in article 2 of the Constitution to be the chief object of the Bond, is the same as the " pure nationality " of article 2 of the Programme of Principles ; and we have abundance of evidence that this means a Dutch nationality with such English admitted as members as are willing to set forward the anti-British aims of the Bond.

The ultimate object in view—" a United South Africa "—is " a United South Africa under its own flag," as has been fully shown in the earlier pages of this pamphlet, and corroborated by the evidence of the founder of the Bond, the Rev. S. J. du Toit himself, in an article published in *De Patriot* in August last, the substance of which was reproduced in the *Cape Times* of September 6.

While and so long as the Bond is busy endeavouring to gain this United South Africa " by constitutional means," it promises " all support to the respective Governments and Legislatures, respecting the rights of each."

What is thoroughly understood by the Bondman, though not expressed here, is that failing the obtaining of its desires by constitutional means, it will endeavour to do so by blood, as was distinctly and publicly asserted by some of the delegates of the Transvaal to Holland in 1884.

This clause 2 of the Constitution must be read in the light of the statements of clause 6 of the Programme of Principles, where the acknowledgment of the existing Governments and the fulfilling of the Bond's obligations to them is distinctly made dependent on these Governments acting in accord with the Afrikander Bond principles, *i.e.* as we have shown, in an anti-British direction.

In accordance with this position we have had prominent members of the Bond and the Cape Parliament, and even ex-Ministers, declaring that the members of the Bond failed in their duty in not petitioning the late Bond Ministry not to allow the harbours and railways of her Majesty's Colony to be used by her Majesty's forces in the present war, and that her Majesty's Ministers in South Africa had failed in this direction too. There is not the slightest recognition of what loyalty to the Sovereign Power means or demands. Loyalty to Afrikander Bond ideals and interests is the only loyalty recognized.

The Transvaal the Bond Object Lesson.

The object lesson as to the practical outcome of the principles of the Bond was seen in the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek. There "the independence of South Africa" was promoted "in schools, in families, and by means of the press," to the exclusion of the rights of the English-speaking majority. There an "election system" was devised and carried out after the Afrikander's heart, leading to the corrupt and unjust rule of a tyrannical minority. There the Afrikander ideas of a Masters and Servants Act, and of a system of protection and concessions, were in active operation to the detriment of the general welfare. There the native question was regulated by Bond ideas, and coloured people, however civilized, might not vote, nor hold title to fixed property, nor trade freely, nor even marry as white people might. There the right of England to protect her subjects was denied, mocked at, and trodden under foot. There finally, when England insisted on this right, war, long and systematically prepared for, was declared against her. What a picture of Bond ideals in practical operation! Should it be objected that the Bond never formally approved of the actions of the South African Republic, I ask has it ever formally disapproved of them, except in cases where the monetary interest of its own members were touched by the unfriendly action of the Transvaal Government towards the Cape Colony? Has it ever brought all its power to bear as a body on the Government of the South African Republic to cause it to do right in all these matters? Has it ever cast all its influence on the side of England and the justice of her demands? Has it ever tried to act as it would have acted if the tyrannical oligarchy at Pretoria had been an English one, and the Uitlanders had been of Dutch descent? No. Even up to the present moment it is encouraging the Transvaal and Free State forces to continue to defy England, and is doing its level best to prevent the only solution of the war that can bring permanent rest, peace, and prosperity to our poor storm-tossed South Africa, namely, the placing of the whole of it under one flag, and that the flag of England, under whose shadow true freedom, justice, and liberty will alone flourish.

Conclusion.

The Bond remains what it has ever been—what President Brand foresaw it to be from its inception—a curse, nay, the curse of South Africa, the fountain of division, disunion, unrest, disorder, hatred between the races inhabiting the country; and every lover of South Africa, everyone who aims at welding the two European nationalities into one South African race, and at treating the black and coloured man fairly and justly, should work for the overthrow of the tyrannizing, disintegrating Power that has for so long manacled, shackled, and throttled the best interests of South Africa, so that the blessings of peace and prosperity, justice and true freedom, unity, harmony, and happiness may descend unhindered on our dear land—"Ons Land"—and its people.

The man or woman—English or Dutch—in England or in South Africa, who continues to harbour purely racial aims and objects is a hindrance to the fulfilment of this ideal; and I appeal to all who love South Africa, to all who love England, to all who long to see Dutch and English united, with the old jealousies and race division and hatred a thing of a forgotten past, to set their faces like a flint against the continuance of the influence of the Bond and similar agencies.

Over the grave where thousands of brave Boers and Britons lie wrapped together "in one red burial blent," I impeach that corrupt, unjust, tyrannical Power which dared to call itself a Republic, but which has violated every principle of truth, justice, freedom, and national righteousness in its mad, grasping ambition after a Dutch supremacy in South Africa, as being before high Heaven the virtual shedder of all this brothers' blood, the *fons et origo* of the war. Upon the flag of old England there are no guilty blood-stains, for she could do none other, so help her God, than defend her God-given rights and the rights of her subjects to freedom, justice, and equal treatment; but the Vierkleur goes down to deserved destruction and annihilation which its supporters planned for others, stained in the blood that it has caused to be shed.

Over that grave, too, I impeach likewise that equally guilty creature of evil—the Afrikander Bond—which like some huge vampire has been for nearly twenty years sucking out the life-blood of true political and national life in South Africa, and overshadowing the land with its dark and baleful wings under which the growths of race hatred and everything foul and poisonous have sprung to hideous life and flourished.

But, thank God, "the night is far spent, the day is at hand," and with the rising of the sun of true freedom over South Africa the creatures of the night will flap their murky wings and pass away for ever.

God is bringing to the birth out of all the agonies of the past and present a true South African nation—not Dutch nor English,

but South African—in which Dutch and English shall blend into one indistinguishable whole, and form a part—and that no ignoble part—of the British Empire.

Over the grave of our dear dead—Boer and Briton—there shall arise, *not* the black angel of perpetual hate, as cruel prophets and prophetesses predict, but the white angel of peace, and mutual respect, and love; and English and Dutch in South Africa shall yet clasp each other's hands over their buried dead, and pledge, not eternal feud, but eternal troth, under the flag that recognizes no distinction between man and man.

ADDENDUM.

In the foregoing pages I have not dealt with the diplomatic negotiations between England and the Transvaal which were going on for months prior to the war, because in my opinion they are in no proper sense the cause of the war, but were merely symptoms of the pre-existing fixed determination on the part of the Transvaal to overthrow British supremacy in the country, and of the fixed resolve on the part of England to uphold it. The only arbitration which the Transvaal cared for was arbitration on a matter which England could not submit to arbitration without *ipso facto* giving up that supremacy. The insolent ultimatum to England of the Transvaal Republic of October 9, 1899, which we now know to have been ready for issue some ten days earlier, was but the outward expression of the definite secret purpose which Republican Afrikanderdom had held and worked for ever since 1881. To those acquainted with that purpose the despatch of State Secretary Boeschoten of May 1897, that of State Secretary Leyds of April 16, 1898, and that of State Secretary Reitz of May 9, 1899, marked three successive stages in the carrying out of that purpose; and there is no doubt that when Mr. Reitz, before the date of the Bloemfontein Conference, penned the last-named despatch, the Transvaal Government had already determined that the time had come to measure swords with England for the possession of South Africa. Only those unacquainted with the purpose and spirit that had filled Afrikanderdom for long years, or those who did not believe that England was in earnest in demanding the redress of the Uitlanders' grievances, could have doubted that war was inevitable during the four or five months prior to its breaking out. The idea that the war was caused by capitalists, or due to a desire on the part of England to rob the Transvaal of its goldfields, is simply ridiculous to those who have watched the dream of Dutch Republican domination unfolding itself stealthily but unfalteringly during the past eighteen years. No diplomacy could have finally averted the war; only an absolute climb-down by England would have availed to do so. The utmost measure of responsibility for the war resting on England is this—that by her firmness she forced the Transvaal Government to unveil its purpose somewhat sooner, perhaps, than it otherwise would have done. I cannot express my conviction of the justice and righteousness of England's action in regard to the present war more strongly than by saying that, even if those who delight to prophesy evil for the future prophesy correctly, even if England were to lose South Africa in the course of some terrific life-and-death struggle with other great Powers—an eventuality which I do not for one moment believe will come to pass—still even in such case she will have no reason to reproach herself for her present action: she will still have done nothing more nor less than her simple duty to herself, and to the peoples committed to her care, in upholding her supremacy in South Africa at the present time. To have shirked this Imperial duty would of all courses have been the one most likely to bring about the catastrophe indicated; and to restore independence to the Dutch Republics now would work towards the same end.

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